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ABSTRACT

The collection of 31 articles about Appalachian history, culture, customs, and education by people from a variety of backgrounds is intended to facilitate understanding of the special needs of Appalachian students by teachers and school administrators. Designed to address the problems faced in 16 specific counties in Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina, the selections are generally relevant to the region as a whole. The articles in the book are attempts to sensitize educators to the historical, social, and economic conditions of Southern Appalachia, as well as to acquaint them with the area's language, values, family life, religion, and music. There are discussions of Appalachian women, blacks, and urban migration. Some articles examine the exploitation of Southern Appalachia by outside interests and the distortion of the region by the national media. Regional people who have critically examined Appalachian schools present their educational views. A briefly annotated bibliography lists books, periodicals, and films which could form the core of an Appalachian studies collection in a school library. (Author/SB)

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Teaching Mountain Children

towards a foundation of understanding

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Foreword by
Eliot Wigginton

Appalachian Consortium Press
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Yes, the future of Appalachia can be bright if Appalachians can gain a sure appreciation of what is good about Appalachian life—our institutions and values—and if Appalachians realize what a tragic loss it would be to exchange their birthright for a mess of mainstream America . . .

The main task of cultivating an appreciation for what is good in Appalachian life will fall upon those teachers who have a knowledge and understanding of two worlds—of Appalachia and mainstream America—and who can walk, like a plowman in spring, with one foot in the plowed ground, the other in the unbroken sod. They are the teachers who, at a time when the mainstream educational system is under particularly close scrutiny for its inadequacies, can be independent and unconventional enough to be thankful that Appalachian schools have not succeeded altogether in stirring Appalachia's children into the great educational melting pot.

There is nothing strange about the Appalachian mountaineer himself that has caused education in his region to be less than successful. In fact, the mountaineer's resistance to aspects of the education that has been available to him is as much a tribute to his good sense as it is an indication of his backwardness . . .

It is difficult for people anywhere to embrace enthusiastically twelve years of formal schooling based on values they don't share, reflecting a world they do not live in, a world difficult to connect to their own experience.

Jim Wayne Miller, Western Kentucky
University, from "A Mirror for
Appalachia" in *Voices from the Hills*,
Higgs and Manning, 1975.

In a critique of teacher training in the United States Dr. Jacob Getzels, Professor of Education and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago, maintains that "little differentiation has been made between prospective teachers for one locality and those for another. The distinctions in training and placement have all been made vertically, that is, between those who will teach in one age, grade or another, and not horizontally, that is, between those who will teach the same grade but in different localities."

"Schools and Values."
Center Magazine, May-June, 1976.

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Teaching Mountain Children.

This book is dedicated to all the public school teachers of Appalachia whose labors of love are sought and appreciated by the children they serve.

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Many people have provided inspirational and perspirational assistance in the completion of this project. It would be impossible to credit all these individuals personally, but a special thanks is in order to the following:

1. The 265 public school teachers and interested lay persons who participated in the Appalachian Studies for Teachers project;
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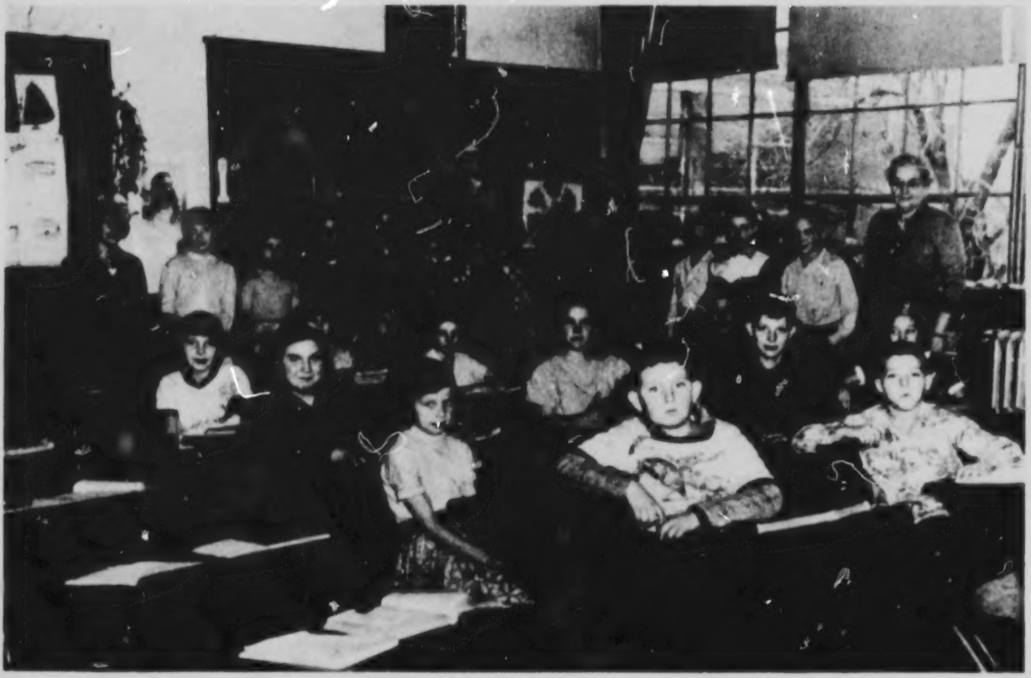
5. For their patience and understanding, my wife Sue and children Matthew and Laura Lynn.



Meadowview School, Meadowview, Virginia, Fourth Grade, Miss Rhea Heldreth

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FOREWORD

The people who were asked to make written contributions to this book were told that they must address themselves to Appalachian high school teachers, many of whom, it was presumed, would be from outside the Appalachian region and hence somewhat unfamiliar with it. This book would help get them started—help them know in advance something of the landscape they would be dealing with.

And in some ways that, I think, is a fine idea. I'm a high school teacher; and if I were going next year to teach in Kodiak, Alaska, I would consider it part of my responsibility as a teacher who sees his job as something more than a job to read as much as I could about the history and environment of Kodiak, the culture and the customs of the people who live there, and the economics of that island. I would also want to make myself familiar, if possible, with the social problems those people face. What's the future of the kids on Kodiak, for example? Is the population stable or transient? What are we to educate the kids *for*?

And at the same time I'd be reading my book on Kodiak, I'd also know that if I accepted at face value all it said, I'd be making a terrible mistake, for I would be accepting at face value the perceptions of other human beings who have their own built-in biases and blinders just as I have, three blind men describing an elephant, as it were. And probably treating it—from what they can feel of its surface texture—as some sort of strange, exotic, very distinctive beast rather than the very normal animal (similar in many ways to all other mammals, though with surface features that make it somewhat distinctive) that it is.

It's a problem of balance, you see. Tell someone to write about Appalachia, and their tendency is to treat Appalachia as a strange and exotic land when in fact there are commonalities here and problems here that all regions share. Accept at face value the exotic stereotypes about Appalachia that you will hear (your kids will all speak Elizabethan English and will come from tiny picturesque homes that have dulcimers hanging on the walls) and you're going to be in big trouble because that's going to lead you into false assumptions about what kinds of activities these kids will respond to. Face it. Most of them are twentieth century kids who aren't going to take to Chaucer and Shakespeare like ducks to water; who like Marshall Tucker and Led Zeppelin and Paul McCartney more than Jean Ritchie; and who would far rather be driving around town or playing ball or drinking beer than sitting in your classroom.

There. Now I've substituted one stereotype for another. Which do you pick? That's the problem you'll have with a book like this, despite all its good points and its fine intentions.

So what are you to do? I'm not really comfortable cast in the role of the answer man, but my own experiences both in mountain schools and in working with teachers around the country have taught me that:

—Books like this can be helpful—if read in perspective—but they are no substitutes for getting out there yourself in that community in which you're going to be teaching, and making your own observations. Meet everyone, talk to everyone, eat in every restaurant, read every sign, visit every church, shop in every store, go to every community event, rent a little house (and don't put up a no trespassing sign) become a good neighbor; and get to know your kids outside of school as human beings rather than blobs of clay that you must shape into your image of what a youngster should be. Don't criticize, don't judge, don't take sides — not now. Observe. Enjoy. Celebrate your community, flaws and all. Spend five years as an apprentice learning *from* rather than teaching. (If you were only going to come to Appalachia for a year or two to sample its strange wares or to do your bit for the downtrodden of the world, you probably shouldn't have come at all.)

—Before the beginning of the school year, make a list of the hard skills your students are supposed to master under your direction, and then figure out ways you can use something in the community itself as the catalyst that will propel your students into the mastery of each skill. (The article I've written for this book explains this further.) Don't rely completely on the texts. You hated them when you were in school, and your kids do too. Use the texts as reference works, but don't rely on them.

—As you become more and more familiar with the community and with the students it is producing, you will come face to face with numerous contradictions. Many of your students will want to remain in that community as adults, but there are few jobs. Some will be more fortunate, and because of their parents may be in line for positions of leadership in the community, but they rarely know anything about the community itself in terms of its needs and the needs of its residents, how the things that must get done get done, how power works and is either used or abused. The other students in the class don't know these things either, but then they're all going to be moving to Detroit, aren't they? And what of those families who provide jobs in the area by virtue of the fact that they own and operate strip mines?

Contradictions abound, Lord knows. But you as a teacher are in a perfect position to make some interesting things happen if you'll use that community (and, by extension, the region as a whole) and let it be one of the vehicles by which your students master the hard skills you're supposed to be giving them. At the very least, they'll come closer to mastering them this way then they would have if you had forced them to stick to the texts. And though they may be forced eventually to move to Detroit, at least they'll go with a firmer understanding of who they are and where they come from—roots—and how any community works and what it must provide to be viable—no matter which one they eventually settle in.

And at best? You may be the catalyst by which some of them become so concerned about and committed to their spot on the globe that they become determined to take its destiny into their own hands and provide a new generation of creative, inspired leadership operating out of informed sensitivity rather than self-serving greed. It's not too much to hope for.

And it's not too much to ask that you, as a teacher, be that catalyst. The creation of an informed, committed, moral, inspired citizenry possessing the hard skills necessary to get the job done is, after all, one of the reasons our schools exist—and one of the reasons, presumably, you were hired.

Eliot Wigginton
Rabun Gap, Georgia
May, 1977

INTRODUCTION

As the title implies, this book has been put together primarily for people interested in the education of Appalachian children. It is an outgrowth of a Title IX grant received by Appalachian State University in 1975 to assist public school teachers in meeting the educational needs of children in a twenty-six county area of Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina. This book is designed to deal with the problems faced in these specific counties, but most selections are relevant to the Appalachian region at large. The southern portion of the Appalachian region in which these counties lie is non-coal but with many of the problems usually associated with a coal based economy. A demographic analysis of these counties prepared by W. Thomas Jamison begins on page 37 and provides an insight into the nature of this small portion of non-coal Southern Appalachia.

The geographical, social, and economic isolation of southern Appalachia has allowed the development of a separate and distinct American cultural element. This Appalachian culture is just presently beginning to receive the recognition long ago extended to other ethnic groups. Writers of American history have long presented ethnic groups in somewhat narrow and stereotypic frameworks. Blacks, Orientals, Native Americans, and certain European immigrant groups have been characterized by the media in distorted images based on racism and prejudice. As these groups gained power and visibility, images softened and became more realistic and they began to be appreciated and accepted nationally. This has not occurred in the case of the Applachian mountaineer. Appalachian culture has been geographically isolated from the rest of America by the mountains. This has prevented both a real sharing and appreciation of Appalachian America and Appalachian appreciation of the multi-ethnic composition of our country. In addition, unlike members of other ethnic groups, most Appalachian Americans have failed to recognize and appreciate their own distinctive culture.

This independent and virtually isolated Appalachian spirit has been minimized, ignored, or even scoffed at by regional as well as national educators. There are many reasons for this:

(1) The Appalachian region is poor, thereby preventing its individuals and institutions from asserting themselves nationally.
(2) The Appalachians are one of two or three ethnic groups in the country which are largely geographically bound.
(3) The mass media, particularily television and the cinema, have typically portrayed the Appalachian mountain person as ignorant, lazy, poor, and lacking in the social and cultural

refinements valued by the whole of society. For example, consider the television programs "Hee-Haw" and "The Beverly Hillbillies" and the films "Lil Abner" and "Deliverance." Such noted writers as Erskine Caldwell, John Steinbeck, and to some degree, even William Faulkner with his renowned Snopes family have not helped but rather contributed to the stereotype. Even regional writers like John Fox, whose novels on Appalachian themes gained national attention, helped perpetuate this attitude. There has been some balance through the writings of Harriet Arnow, Rebecca Caudill, Wilma Dykeman, Jesse Stuart, and others but stereotypic attitudes are difficult to correct.

(4) Many educators have overlooked regional culture in favor of a kind of "national cultural amalgum" best described as middle class white suburban values. The prevailing educational philosophy seems to have been: study hard, learn to speak correctly, and you will transcend soup beans, brogans, over-alls, the tobacco market, country music, and externally emotional religion.

There are many teachers and school administrators in the Appalachian region who have attempted to meet the social and cultural needs of Appalachian children. Unfortunately these efforts have not been maximized. The day to day curricular and administrative responsibilities are dictated by the educational bureaucracy. They have not allowed the teaching profession the time and opportunity to initiate relevant activities designed to further the understanding of Appalachian culture. Both students and teachers have been caught up by nationally oriented teaching materials and educational policy.

The selection of articles to be included in this book has been made with the following in mind:

(1) To sensitize the public school teacher and administrator to the historical, social, and economic conditions of southern Appalachia,

(2) To acquaint these individuals with various cultural descriptors which manifest themselves in the lives of Appalachian children: language, family life, religion, and music,

(3) To examine how southern Appalachia is being taken advantage of by selfish outside interests and distorted by many in the national media, and

(4) To present the educational views of regional people who have critically examined the schools of Appalachia.

The book presents no definitive solutions to problems as that is not its purpose. It is hoped that this collection will facilitate understanding of the special needs of the Appalachian student by school personnel and will contribute in some small way to bringing about more relevant educational experiences.

From time to time teachers have suggested the need for a relatively short and comprehensive bibliography of Appalachia for use by schools. The bibliography at the close of this book consists of works this author considers the best of those currently available for purchase. It is followed by a list of 16mm films which currently may be purchased or rented from the listed source. The inclusion of works in this bibliography is one person's view and brevity necessitated the exclusion of many other fine books and films.

David N. Mielke
Appalachian State University
Spring, 1978

1 APPALACHIAN ETHNIC AWARENESS TEST

DAVID N. MIELKE

Several "tests" have been developed in an attempt to measure ethnic awareness. Most have been created just for fun, but attempting to answer the questions points out our own ignorance of other cultures. The following test is an excerpt from a larger instrument used in a serious attempt to measure Appalachian awareness. Some of the questions and responses are not uniquely Appalachian but are more prominent in that culture than others. The test items have been gathered largely by teachers from their students and then passed on for the development of this instrument. The rest of the items have been formulated from the experiences of living twenty-five years in Appalachia.

The following are similar, but shorter, tests which have been published and are usually cited when ethnic awareness tests are given in the literature.

"What is Your Black Culture Quotient?" in *Today's Education*, February, 1970, Vol. 59, No. 2, page 27.

"What is Your Chicano Culture Quotient?" by Felix Elizalde in Stone and DeNevi *Teaching Multi-Cultural Populations*, Van Nostrand, 1971, page 167.

"Mountain Quiz" in *The Mountain Call*, Christmas, 1974, Vol. 2, No. 1, page 6.

1. A greasy poke best serves a person who:
    A. Has a cold
    B. Has sore muscles
    C. Is hungry
    D. Is pregnant
    E. Is tired

2. A dotey person is:
    A. Crippled
    B. Fat
    C. In love
    D. Lazy
    E. Senile

3. Burley is usually cured:
    A. By the processor
    B. In flue barns
    C. In open air barns
    D. On the stalk
    E. A year after it is cut

4. The word blinky refers to:
    A. A child's toy
    B. An early frost
    C. An eccentric woman
    D. Soured milk
    E. Spoiled canned goods

5. Which of the following belongs least with the others:
   - A. Dodger
   - B. Grits
   - C. Hushpuppy
   - D. Pone
   - E. Scrapple

6. Southern mountain people usually express their political feelings by:
   - A. Voting independently
   - B. Seldom voting
   - C. Rejecting traditional candidates
   - D. Voting strongly Democratic
   - E. Voting strongly Republican

7. A buckeye in your pocket means you will:
   - A. Always have money
   - B. Have good health
   - C. Have success in your trading
   - D. Never be bothered by evil spirits
   - E. Win the girl of your choice

8. An illegitimate child is a:
   - A. Bait
   - B. Chuffy
   - C. Cuckold
   - D. Gip
   - E. Woods colt

9. The mule is used primarily because of:
   - A. The expense of tractors
   - B. Farming traditions
   - C. The nature of the soil
   - D. Steep planting fields
   - E. Their longevity and ease of upkeep

10. Peckerwood refers to:
    - A. A corn storage shed
    - B. Furniture quality lumber
    - C. Small sized firewood
    - D. Termite damage
    - E. A woodpecker

11. A person who falls off:
    - A. Becomes mentally unbalanced
    - B. Dies
    - C. Loses weight
    - D. Is tuckered out
    - E. Is unfaithful to his/her mate

12. To back an envelope is to:
    - A. Address it
    - B. Apply a return address
    - C. Mail it
    - D. Put postage on it
    - E. Seal it

13. A backset is a (an):
    - A. Brace
    - B. Farm tool
    - C. Ignorant person
    - D. Low chair
    - E. Relapse

14. All fire and tow refers to:
    - A. A high tempered person
    - B. A religious fanatic
    - C. A spirited mule
    - D. Top quality moonshine
    - E. A very sick person

15. Tendergreen is:
    - A. Extra household money
    - B. A headache from bad moonshine
    - C. An immature cabbage
    - D. A novice
    - E. A young leafy vegetable

16. A coarse singer would likely be:
    - A. Asked to leave the choir
    - B. A bass
    - C. Loud
    - D. Off key
    - E. A soloist

17. A bealed head refers to:
    - A. A bloated cow
    - B. A festering pimple
    - C. A hairless condition
    - D. A rotten cabbage
    - E. A swollen face

18. A man who has granny trouble can look forward to:
    - A. Abstaining from sex
    - B. The birth of his child
    - C. Having only daughters
    - D. His mother-in-law moving in
    - E. A stomach condition

19. The most popular duo in country music in 1976 was:
    - A. Buck Owens and Susan Ray
    - B. Conway Twitty and Loretta Lynn
    - C. George Jones and Tammy Wynette
    - D. Porter Wagoner and Dolly Parton
    - E. Wilma Lee and Stoney Cooper

20. Jumping jig refers to a (an):
    - A. Dance
    - B. Escaped convict
    - C. Groom
    - D. Racial slur
    - E. Toy

21. A person who sangs:
    - A. Catches fish with a net
    - B. Digs for roots
    - C. Keeps the congregation on key
    - D. Makes fermented fruit juice
    - E. Performs for money

22. Sister Vestal is associated with:
    - A. Arthur Smith
    - B. The Happy Goodmans
    - C. The Hinsons
    - D. The Inspirations
    - E. The Speer Family

23. Diddles refer(s) to:
    A. Baby chicks
    B. Banjo pickers
    C. Chestnuts
    D. Diarrhea
    E. Roundworms

24. An anxious bench might be found in a:
    A. Church
    B. County jail
    C. Grocery store
    D. Hospital
    E. One room school

25. A horseshoe nailed over the door will:
    A. Decorate the door
    B. Keep disease away
    C. Signal good luck
    D. Ward off evil spirits
    E. Welcome visitors

ANSWERS

1. C
2. E
3. C
4. D
5. E
6. E
7. A
8. E
9. D
10. E
11. C
12. A
13. E
14. A
15. E
16. B
17. E
18. B
19. B
20. E
21. B
22. B
23. A
24. A
25. D

2 WHO ARE THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINEERS?

Cratis D. Williams is recognized by many as "Mr. Appalachia." He has spent most of his life in the region as a public school and college teacher and has recently retired from Appalachian State University. The following selection is drawn from his doctoral dissertation THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINEER IN FACT AND FICTION. Williams weaves the roots of the Appalachian mountaineer and places his historical role in regional context.

The Southern Mountaineer appears not to have set himself apart from the borderer or frontiersman until during the Civil War. When one

Appalachian Journal, Autumn 1972. Used by permission.

considers the whole movement called the Westward Expansion and realizes that the mountain regions of the South were really settled permanently rather late, he does not find the fact that the mountaineer was discovered late so odd, for permanent settlement did not average more than three generations deep in the whole mountain area at that time. True, the Valley of Virginia was being settled in the 1730's, the valley of East Tennessee a generation later, and favored spots in the Blue Ridge country of North Carolina by 1790, but such immense mountain areas as West Virginia, Eastern Kentucky, the Cumberland Plateau region in Tennessee, and the mountainous country of North Georgia were not settled in any kind of permanent way until after 1800.[1] One hardly expects a people to acquire a distinguishing individuality sooner than from grandfather to grandson.

To assume that there was any mystery attached to the settlement of Appalachia is to neglect the significant fact that, once cleared of the threat of Indians, "its coves and creek valleys were admirably fitted for the domestic economy of hunter and frontier farms."[2] A frontier farmer in the mountains was no more isolated in reference to markets than the settler in any other wilderness clearing. To expect the hill farmer to foresee that future industrialization, with its railroads, steamboat navigation, and macadamized roads, would pass his grandson by is "to read history backward with a vengeance."[3] But retarded his descendants became. This "is an outstanding fact in American life. When men of the same type . . . settled elsewhere this retardation has not been observed."[4]

Occasionally one finds references to mountain hamlets and villages of Civil War days. In 1860, Jackson, the seat of Breathitt County, Kentucky, "still had only a few houses. Its two stores, houses, jail, courthouse, and post office were all of logs."[5] This picture of a mountain county seat compares favorably with that of Jamestown, Tennessee, a generation earlier in *The Gilded Age,*[6] or of Chestatee, Georgia, about 1830. It would seem that such towns and pioneer homes had not attracted much notice, even by outsiders, until the industrial expansion that followed the Civil War afforded the economic conditions that enabled citizens of places that shared in that expansion to improve their own towns, after which they found an archaic flavor in the habitations of mountain people as well as in the speech and customs of the men and women their own age who were still speaking and viewing life much as they had remembered their own grandfathers doing. It was not until that time that we begin to find references to the residents of Appalachia as mountaineers. But they were not then called "hill-billies," a word used first in reference to the "poor-white" dwellers among the sand hills and piney woods of Alabama and Mississippi. Only recently has "hill-billy" become a popular misnomer for mountaineer. Nor did they think of themselves as mountaineers. Today the cove-dwellers and ridge people do not think of themselves as mountaineers.

The Southern Highlands region, for strictly speaking much of the area is not mountainous in the usual geological sense, begins with the Mason-Dixon Line on the north, follows just east of the Blue Ridge in a southwesterly direction into Georgia just north of Atlanta, turns westward to Birmingham to include northeastern Alabama, thence northward just west of the Cumberland Plateau through Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River above Maysville, Kentucky. From that point it returns along the Ohio to the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania to complete a long ellipse which reaches like a finger for nearly eight hundred miles into the heart of the Old South. Including all of West Virginia, the mountain region spreads over parts of eight other contiguous states, covering an area as Horace Kephart observed, "about the same as that of the Alps." It makes up about one-third of the total area of these states and includes approximately one-third of their total population.[9]

To obtain a fairly representative notion of the population and its resources at a reasonably normal recent period in the mountains, one would probably do best to consider the decade from 1920 to 1930, a period marked by the boom following World War I and settled by the early years of the Great Depression. A study of maps furnished by the United States Department of Agriculture reveals the following picture of conditions in the mountain region for the decade under consideration: self-sufficient farms were more heavily concentrated here than in any other part of the United States. But the Cumberland-Allegheny region produced less milk than surrounding areas and marketed fewer than 50,000 beef cattle in 1930. Farming methods were still primitive, the value of implements and machinery per male worker being the least in the United States: less than $100. As would be expected, the acreage of cultivated land per male worker was under ten acres in an area of the heaviest concentration of part-time farms in the whole country. Outside the Valley of Virginia, not over $200,000 was spent for fertilizer in the whole mountain region. The number of farms decreased less than five per cent and the value of farm property was less in the mountains than in surrounding areas. Approximately twenty-five per cent of the population migrated from the mountain farms during that decade, but untold thousands returned to chink and repair abandoned cabins on the worn-out farms and to live off relief during the 1930's. It is not difficult to see that most of the mountain area was inhabited by a marginal economic group who made little money to spend and most of whose working efforts were exerted in merely subsisting from year to year.

Striking both to the sociologist and the novelist, the homogeneity of physical type found among the mountain people with their traits of blondness, rangy frame and spare flesh, "has proved a paradox when subjected to social interpretation."[10] Much futile controversy has marked the efforts to "explain" the biological stock of the mountaineer. Novelists, accepting the theory of origins of the highlander that best suited their fictional purposes, have sometimes presented him as Anglo-Saxon, sometimes as Scotch-Irish, and sometimes as Scotch. At times he is presented as disinherited gentry whose ancestors were victimized in Merry England or compromised in Bonnie Scotland. Again, he is frequently represented as the descendant of shiftless poor whites and ne'er-do-wells who trailed the vanguard of the pioneers and took up miserable abodes in the less desirable lands passed over in the Westward Movement. Placed against these views is the more tenable one that he was part and parcel of the whole Westward Movement and settled in the mountains because he sought fertile soil for his crops, good range land for his cattle, delicious drinking water from permanent springs, and coverts for the wildlife that would afford him the pleasures and profits derived from hunting.

Although "the retarded Anglo-Saxon of the highlands is no myth . . . and if there be such a thing as good stock, these highlanders have it,"[11] his isolation has left him stranded in an outmoded culture. But, though "proud, sensitive, self-reliant, untaught in the schools, often unchurched, untraveled, he is not unlearned in the ways of the world, and when one chances to leave for the outside world before his personality has become set in the mold of his culture he is likely to climb far."[12] John C. Campbell found evidence of a falling away from culture among mountain people in the fact that many illiterate mountaineers possess copies of Greek and Latin classics bearing the names of ancestors and that given names of mountain children reflect a knowledge of the classics on the part of the ancestors.[13]

One would think mountaineers themselves could help solve the problem of their origin. Such, however, is not the case. When questioned on the subject of their racial stock and ancestry, they usually know nothing more than that certain ancestors came from North Car'liny or Ole Virginny or occasionally Pennsylvany and that they "reckon" they had come from the "old country across the waters" and were English, Scotch, Irish—any of which might mean Scotch-Irish—or Dutch, which usually means German.

Much has been done in an effort to determine proportionate racial stocks in the mountains through a study of family names. Because so many names may be either English, Scottish, or Irish, because many names have become corrupted, and because translations of names from German or French have added to the confusion, the conclusions arrived at through such studies are not sufficiently reliable to be of much help.

An analysis of the whole pioneering movement into the Piedmont and upland region of Virginia and the Carolinas yields more conclusive proof in determining who the present day mountaineer is racially than any other known approach to the problem. The Valley of Virginia, with few inhabitants in 1730, was well-populated in 1750.[14] By 1765 Governor Tryon could report that over a thousand immigrant wagons had passed through Salisbury, North Carolina, in one year.[15] That the Scotch Irish outnumbered by far any other racial group can hardly be doubted. "From the year 1720 to 1776 this people came on the average of 12,000 a year, or 600,000 people before the Revolution."[16]

A study of the list of over four thousand names attached to the petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia from 1769 to 1792 shows "a decided preponderance of Scotch and Scotch-Irish names with a large number of English and a few German, Dutch, and French. The number of English increases in the later petitions. The large number of religious names indicates the non-conformist character of much of the population."[17] That the Scotch-Irish predominated in the migrations westward to 1800 is to be inferred; that they were also more numerous than any other groups in the settlements made to the same date in the mountain regions is logically assumed.

The most significant single trait to mark all mountain communities is the essential non-conformist quality of their religions views. In the very beginning of the settling of the mountains, the Valley of Virginia afforded homes for Lutheran, German Reformed, Quaker, Mennonite, Dunkard, and Presbyterian. "Between the ramparts of the mountains, these descendants of persecution dwelt in peace with one another."[18] With the flooding migration of the Scotch-Irish, even the Great Valley became a stronghold of Presbyterianism that stood out in sharp contrast, frequently in sharp antagonism, to the Anglicanism of Tidewater Virginia.[19] The mountaineers, a pious people, were largely Presbyterian to begin with, but they "lost their pastors and took up with Baptists of three sects and with Campbellite leaders."[20] Since no schools were provided for them during the early days and they found themselves unable to provide their own until recently, "they came to think education a superfluity, if not an evil."[21] The most permeating influence in their lives remained an essentially unintellectual and basically Calvinistic religion kept alive by the energy of fire-eating and untrained ministers.

The question of the origin of mountaineers from the indentured servants of colonial times is fraught with confusion. To many writers who have seen mountaineers as the descendants of the boundmen, the implications are that they are therefore of the depraved origin ascribed to the poor whites of the Tidewater country and the Deep South. Other writers, noting essential differences between the character of the two groups. hasten to deny that the mountain people descend from those wretched souls described by William Byrd in his *History of the Dividing Line* (1729) as lolling their days away in shiftless ease on the back fences of Lubberland. As a matter of fact, it would seem that even most of the Scotch-Irish came as indentured servants, first to the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, "but when their terms of service expired, they found lands in Pennsylvania too expensive and some of them were settled by Lord Fairfax on his holdings between the Rappahannock and the Potomac."[22] The traditions of some of the mountain families certainly indicate that many of the ancestors were bound boys who earned money to pay for their passage before they became their own men.

In general, efforts to link the rank and file of mountain families with the Tidewater poor whites have certainly failed, but that some of these people found their way into the mountains can hardly be doubted. And that much of the fiction portraying life among the mountaineers deals with a branchwater variety of mountaineer whose moral and cultural standards are equivalent to those of the poor white who appear in the novels of Erskine Caldwell and William Faulkner is well known.

Historians have been generous in their praise of mountaineers as soldiers. The Scotch-Irish disseminated among the older population at the time of Revolution have been credited with holding the colonies together, for whereas the older population knew certain loyalties both to King and their own colony, the recently arrived Scotch-Irishmen, 600,000 strong, knew no loyalty to a colonial government yet and carried with them a grudge of long standing against the King. Their resistance to the injustices of British policy exhibited itself in strong measures even before the Revolution began.

But to enroll all mountain men in the lists of the Sons of the American Revolution would certainly be rash, for there is excellent evidence that many of the early mountaineers were Tories. Too, many of the mountain families, especially those in the higher echelons socially and culturally, preserve traditions in their families of having descended from Tories who came to the mountains during the Revolution to escape the wrath of the revolutionists in their home communities. Even the Scotch-Irish in the Carolinas were not the unalloyed anti-British men that most writers have tended to make them. As late as 1779 there were so many Tories in Burke County, one of the western counties of the state, that British officers recruited men there who were so numerous that they planned to kill all the patriots in that region. These Scotch-Irish mountaineers pitched their support with the wealthy planters of the Tidewater section in acting against rebellion. When one considers that this whole area of North Carolina was a nursery for the advance phalanxes of the Westward Movement, he must make some reservations in regard to the patriotism of both the pioneer ancestors of the people of the Mississippi Valley and of the Appalachian mountaineers.

Evidence indicates, then, that the Southern mountaineer, though mainly of Scotch-Irish ancestry, of dissenting religious convictions, and of Whig descent, is not necessarily any of these things. He turns out to be a rather complex individual when we examine him closely. Hence, sweeping statements, stereotyped presentations, and generalizations as to his essential character are not to be relied upon as adequate interpretation of mountain life and character.

In arriving at a concept of the Southern mountaineer along sociological and economic lines, it is important that we consider what his ancestors were like before they moved into the hills from the Carolina Piedmont Reservoir. The Piedmont pioneers were a peculiar people made up of like-minded groups from several nationalities rather than a distinct racial type. Because of the remarkable qualities they possessed before they became mountaineers, environment and isolation do not sufficiently account for much of the same qualities found among them today, for their pioneer peculiarities "have curiously survived, in spite of the weathering of time."[23]

Not only did the mountain people become isolated as a geographical unit after about 1850,[24] but they became more and more isolated from one another. As William Goodell Frost observed in 1899, the double isolation resulted in "marked variations in social conditions." The moving out or death of leading families in one valley may mark a decline in the social state that leads to collapse and awful degradation, while in the adjoining valley heirlooms and tradition "witness a self-respect and character that are unmistakable."[25] Because the better type of mountaineer was conscious, by 1900, of his stranded condition, and knew that he was "behind relatively as well as absolutely," his character was affected. His pride became vehement. He developed a shy, sensitive, and undemonstrative personality. Aware now of the scorn from the lowlands, his old predilection toward Presbyterian fatalism led him to struggle but feebly with his destiny.

As a result of isolation, economic depravity, struggles, hardships and common interests, the sons of the mountain pioneers of from five to eight generations back are by now blended into a somewhat homogeneous people [26] who in eastern Kentucky have more in common with their kind in northern Georgia than they have with their fellow Kentuckians in the Bluegrass Region, or who in western North Carolina share more points of view with their neighbors across the state line in Tennessee than they share with their fellow North Carolinians and remote kinsmen in Charlotte and Greensboro.

Rupert B. Vance has noted that in the great Appalachian Valley "society has developed as a checkerboard in accordance with topography." A slow process of social differentiation took place, resulting in the plantation culture in the fertile limestone valleys and the marginal cabin culture among the less energetic who were pushed into the shale hills and chert ridges. But Professor Vance does not presume to ascribe a different ancestry to the dwellers in the mansion and in the cabin. It is a matter of population pressure that results in the division of fertile fields among heirs until the time comes when fields are too small to offer subsistence and "young sons have pushed out beyond the mountain rim; others have retreated back up the slopes to the shelter of a cabin and a cleared patch."[27]

Not overcrowding, though the principal problem, is not the whole answer to the poverty that came to exist among most of the mountain people. As William Bradley pointed out in 1918, the extinction of game and the exhaustion of the soil contributed immeasurably. On Troublesome Creek in Kentucky it was discovered that "every creek at all capable of growing corn (the one staple crop) had a population far in excess of its power to support, and that many of these people . . . were crowded into one and two room cabins, sometimes without windows." On one branch three miles long "thirteen houses, with a total of ninety-six people, of whom sixty-seven were children," were found.[28]

It must be remembered that this heavily increasing population is of the original mountain stock. Only about two per cent of the mountain people are of foreign birth,[29] and these are concentrated in the mining areas of the Cumberland-Allegheny Belt where they had exerted little influence on the native stock up to 1920.[30] With an increasing density in population and the consequent further division of family lands (for two-thirds of mountain men own land), it is easy to see that struggles and hardships would increase.

But it must be remembered that although a homogeneity of the ethical and ethnic character of the mountain people may more or less exist, there is no homogeneity of social and economic status. Mountaineers, socially and economically, fall roughly into three groups:

(1) Town and city dwellers. Nearly two million live in incorporated places of 1000 or more. They are mostly of native stock, descended from the same people as their rural cousins, and either grew up with the town or have been dwellers in the town but a generation or so. Having risen but recently from what they regard as the more odious aspects of mountain life, they are sensitive on the score of labels and resent being called mountaineers.

(2) Valley farmers. These people are the largest of the three groups. They live along river valleys, near the mouths of creeks, or on main highways, and are more or less prosperous rural folk. Their problems are likely to be more or less identical with those of people living anywhere in the country. But they, like their neighbors in the towns, reveal the ethical and ethnic homogeneity of the whole mountain population. Only in material things and social living with the consequent polish that comes from the enjoyment of their prerogatives are they different from the mountaineers of the third class.

(3) Branchwater mountaineers. These, fewer in number than those belonging to the second class, live for the most part up the branches, in the coves, on the ridges, and in the inaccessible parts of the mountain region. They are the small holders of usually poor land, or tenants, or squatters who move from abandoned tract to abandoned tract. It is the mountaineer of this third type, closely akin to the "poor white" if not exactly the same, that became the mountaineer of fiction.

Ironically, mountaineers of the third type do not think of themselves as mountaineers either: they are just people. Hence, no one admits to being a mountaineer. The resentment against fictional interpretations of mountain life and character arises largely from the town and valley folk, who rebel against "the exaggeration of the weaknesses and the virtues of individuals in the third group, and from presenting as typical the picturesque, exceptional, or distressing conditions under which some of them live," for, "through lack of qualifications they are, by inference, pictured as living under such conditions."[31]

Understandably, the general attitude of the mountain people is not one conducive to progress, for they have been victimized through exploitation of the natural resources around them and quaint journalism "until they resent anything said about them or offered for them."[32]

Unforgiving of writers that exposed their peculiarities, the mountaineers of Clay County, Kentucky, escorted the reporters who came to cover the Howard-Baker feuds at the beginning of this century out of the county and warned them not to return.[33] Horace Kephart discovered that the mountain people are provoked at being called mountaineers. He thought the provocation stems from the fact that the word is not in their vocabulary, a "furrin" word, which they take as a term of reproach. Anything strange is regarded with suspicion; hence, anyone writing about these people runs the risk of offending them.[34]

NOTES

1. John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York, 1921), pp. 39–40.
2. Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), p. 244.

3. *Ibid.*
4. John P. Connell, "Retardation of the Appalachian Region," *Mountain Life and Work* (April, 1922), pp. 21–22.
5. Federal Writers' Project, *Breathitt: A Guide to the Feud Country* (Northport, New York, 1941), p. 86.
6. Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age*, Harper and Brothers edition (New York, originally published in 1873), pp. 1–2. Jamestown is called Obedstown in the book.
7. Shields McIlwaine, *The Southern Poor White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1939), p. xv.
8. Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (New York, 1913), p. 14.
9. Campbell, p. 19.
10. Vance, p. 244.
11. Vance, p. 35.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Campbell, p. 50. Ella Enslow (pseud. for Murray) and Alvin F. Harlow point out that the petition of the Watauga Settlements to North Carolina in 1776 was signed by one hundred and thirteen men, perhaps all in the colony, but only two had to make their marks. (*Schoolhouse in the Foothills* [New York, 1935], pp. 9–10)
14. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
15. *Ibid.*
16. See footnote, Campbell, p. 23.
17. *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792*, Filson Club Publication No. 27 (Louisville, n. d.), pp. 31–32. Quoted by Campbell, pp. 60–61.
18. Julia Davis, *The Shenandoah* (New York, 1945), p. 36.
19. Evarts Boutell Greene, *Provincial America* (New York and London, 1905), p. 236.
20. Julian Ralph, "Our Appalachian Americans," *Harper's*, CVII (June, 1903), p. 236.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Three Virginia Frontiers* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1940), pp. 38–39.
23. James Watt Raine, *The Land of Saddle-Bags* (New York, 1924), p. 39.
24. Campbell, p. 49.
25. William Goodell Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," *Atlantic*, LXXXIII (March, 1899), p. 315.
26. Arthur H. Estabrook in *Eugenical News* (September, 1927) announced the results of a painstaking study which concluded that the southern Appalachian area does not contain a truly homogeneous population. Nathaniel D. M. Hirsch, a professor of pyschology at Duke University, studied school children in three eastern Kentucky counties in the 1920's and came to the conclusion that the Kentucky mountaineers are "one of the purest strains in the world, yet they possess physical traits which reveal that the compounding and intermixture of racial strains has not yet after six generation of intermarriage proceeded to the extent of blending the component elements." ("An Experimental Study of East Kentucky Mountaineers," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, III, March, 1928, p. 229.)

    John F. Day said in 1941, "During the 100 years and more between settlement and arrival of the machine age the hills bred a distinctive people. It is an exaggeration to say, 'Mountaineeers look like this—Their traits of character are thus and so—Under certain conditions they will react in this manner—.' Even so, similar ancestry, inbreeding, a common fight against poverty, and a century and a half of isolation in an unusual environment have given Kentucky mountaineers characteristics common to the majority." (*Bloody Ground* [Garden City, New York, 1941], p. 21.)
27. Vance, p. 243.
28. "The Women on Troublesome." *Scribner's* LXIII (March, 1918), p. 320.
29. Campbell, p. 363.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
32. Day, p. 323.
33. Ralph, "Our Appalachian Americans," *Harper's*, CVII (June, 1903), p. 33.
34. Kephart, pp. 206–207.

3 FROM *THE BORDER SOUTH STATES*

NEAL R. PEIRCE

Neal Peirce has been a Washington-based writer since 1959. He has written a series of books of his observations of the United States based on extensive travels. The following is taken from his book THE BORDER SOUTH STATES and is his commentary, as an outsider, on East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, and Western North Carolina. He looks at the people and their institutions with special emphasis on environmental problems.

NORTH CAROLINA'S MOUNTAINS: THE GEM OF APPALACHIA

In his 1973 statement announcing his retirement from the Senate, Sam J. Ervin, Jr., said that he intended to do a little fishing and sit around home in Morganton and watch "the indescribable glory of the sun setting behind Hawksbill Mountain." As it happens, Hawksbill Mountain, just west of Morganton and about 50 miles west of Charlotte and Winston-Salem, is part of the Blue Ridge that rises from the hilly Piedmont and signals the beginnings of North Carolina's mountain country. We think of the west as a sort of promised land, where people gravitate, but the mountains in North Carolina have had another function. The great wave of western migration following the Revolutionary War went over the mountains, into Tennessee and Kentucky. The mountains did begin to fill up during this period, but their greatest growth awaited the industrial boom before and after the turn of the century, when furniture factories and, to a lesser extent, textile mills located there. Today, only about 10 percent of all North Carolinians live in the mountains, and many of the winding roads lead into quiet backwaters where English is still spoken in Elizabethan accents.

The statisticians will tell you that the Smokies of North Carolina are the highest mountains east of the Mississippi. But their fascination for me is not in their height but in their haunting appearance: it is as if

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deep green velvet were draped loosely over the earth, rising and falling in curving folds, sometimes reflecting the light of the sun and sometimes absorbing it till they seem almost black. In the distance, the velvet seems to disappear in the smoky haze that has given the mountains their name. Yet close by, these mountains also have a profound fascination in the weird, almost exotic shapes—ridgelines straight out of a fairy tale. As one who has spent most summers of his life in New Hampshire, it is a hard confession to make, but I must say that for me, the Smokies of North Carolina are the gem of the Appalachians.

These are some of the oldest mountains in North America. Their contours have been worn down through millions of years, and their slopes covered with vegetation because of the plentiful rainfall and temperate climate. As far back as we know, this land was peopled by the Cherokee Indians. This remarkable tribe, which spread south into South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, adapted well to the white man's ways and, under the great chief Sequoyah, even developed its own alphabet and literature. But in the 50 years following 1785, the Cherokee signed 37 treaties, each ceding more land to the white man. The crowning blow was the Treaty of New Echota, in 1835. A small group of Cherokees agreed to give up their remaining lands in return for $5.6 million and territory in what now is Oklahoma. Most of the Cherokees resisted these terms. But President Van Buren, mindful that whites wanted the Indians' land, sent General Winfield Scott in to drive them west. Nearly one-quarter of the Cherokees died on the Trail of Tears to the arid lands they had been granted; it was perhaps the lowest moment of Jacksonian democracy.

But a little more than a thousand Cherokees had remained behind. As the story goes, an Indian named Tsali, who had killed a white soldier, gave himself up to a sympathetic colonel on condition that the rest of the tribe be allowed to remain. (This incident is commemorated throughout each summer in the open-air production of the drama, "Unto These Hills.") And for once, a promise to the Indians was kept. The continuing difficulties over the Eastern Band of Cherokees' legal status is too complex to recount here. But the upshot is that there are now about 6,000 Cherokees in western North Carolina, most of them in the large reservation just south of the entrance to the Great Smokies National Park.*

* There are even more Indians in eastern North Carolina. Most of them are Lumbees, who live in and around Robeson County, south of Fayetteville, and who may or may not be descendants of the Lost Colony of Roanoke. The Lumbees have not lived on reservations, although at one time Robeson County maintained three sets of segregated schools, for whites, Indians, and blacks. Altogether, North Carolina had 44,406 Indians in 1970, the largest number east of the Mississippi, exceeded only by Oklahoma, Arizona, California, and New Mexico.

The Smokies Park receives more visitors each year than any other national park in the United States, and the chief business of the Indians is tourism. The tribal government holds all lands in common and gives use rights to individuals; it also operates an excellent modern motel (Boundary Tree Lodge at Cherokee); a crafts store; factories producing leather products, quilting, and hair accessories; full municipal services at Cherokee, including a water and sewer system; and a fish and game service. Altogether, Chief John Crowe said, the Cherokee tribal government and enterprises have a budget of about $1 million a year. Unemployment is very low in the summer tourist season, sometimes as low as 1 percent; in the winter, however, it may rise to 15 or 20 percent.

In 1973, at the same time I spoke with Chief Crowe, I attended a meeting of the tribal council. The debate was free-wheeling and ineverent; several women (including a precious cameo of indeterminate older years) were members; and there was an interpreter present for the few council members who speak only the Cherokee language. In the last years, the Cherokee schools have been teaching the language to children in the primary grades—another example of that growing pride in special heritages that one senses all over the country.

Up through the 1940s, western North Carolina was one of the most isolated sections of eastern America. Then came tourism, industrialization, and the growth of mountain-based educational institutions. In the 1960s Terry Sanford defined the mountains' future as "an educational factory, a retirement land, a recreational paradise, leavened by appreciative industrial neighbors."

Now that the wall of isolation has been broken, however, thoughtful people of the region speak with deep concern of the head-over-heels tourist development, soaring land prices, the bulldozing off of mountains to make way for condominiums and ski resorts and golf courses, and the arrival of the plastic civilization of hamburger and fried chicken stands and gas stations and all the rest. The once placid little city of Boone (in the Blue Ridge) and its environs is one example of that kind of growth. With tourism and the growth of the Appalachian State University there, Boone's population jumped 138 percent, to 8,754, during the 1960s. The university's enrollment is close to 10,000. Just as alarming, in terms of poor development, is the once exquisite Maggie Valley, west of Asheville, now full of snake farms and the like. "It's a mess," one local leader said, "and unfortunately the zoning can't be made retroactive."

There has also been poorly controlled development in the town of Cherokee, strategically located at the entrance to the Great Smokies National Park. In 1946 Cherokee had a post office in a store, three trading posts, and a filling station. About 50 tourist cars passed by each day, Chief Crowe recalled. By the early 1970's (at least before the energy crisis struck) some eight million tourists a year were going through Cherokee. The town had spawned what seemed like dozens of souvenir shops, restaurants, and gas stations, the whole not quite as garish as Gatlinburg, Tennessee, across the mountains, but a bit more tawdry. The most attractive offerings of the town were those of the Cherokee Historical Association—the Oconaluftee Indian Village, with a splendid portraval of early Cherokee life, and the nightly performances of "Unto These Hills."

For all the growth, there are some bright spots to the modern-day development of the mountain section. The national park and the Blue Ridge Parkway—notwithstanding exceeedingly heavy use—are well maintained by the government. Among private scenic developments, few are as tasteful or impressive as Grandfather Mountain near Boone, which is owned and run as a tourist attraction by a leading local politician-businessman, Hugh Morton. Morton's grandfather bought the mountain, the highest in the Blue Ridge, in 1889, and he has fought repeated attempts by the National Park Service to take it over. "I'm seen in the hills as an oddity—the only man who ever licked the federal government," Morton said. "But I really don't feel the mountain is mine. It's mine in trust to protect." He showed me a dazzling set of slides (his own photography) of the mountain at all seasons of the year, and of its flora and fauna—fitting competition for any National Park Service presentation. Grandfather Mountain is 120 million years old, and has some of the oldest rock formations in America.

With the rising tide of tourism and the large number of retirement and vacation condominium developments, western North Carolina desperately needs careful planning lest it become, in one native's words, a "Miami Beach in the mountains." But in 1973 the legislature failed to pass a state land-use planning law, and the future of the mountains remained unclear.*

Until now, there has been something very special about North Carolina's Appalachia, a place where the historic memory is not altogether erased, the last frontier of the old mountaineers. In the dying hours of a golden summer day, I spent several hours talking with journalist John Parris on the porch of his lovely farm retreat near the town of Sylva. Parris is a son of the mountains who could (as so many have) lead an exciting life in the greater world. A distinguished Associated Press correspondent in London during World War II, and later at the United Nations, he was offered any AP correspondent's job he would like, anywhere in the world. But Parris chose instead to return to the mountains, to write a column for the Asheville *Citizen* in which he might capture the flavor of a fast-fading civilization. (When the first book of his columns was published, Parris was a guest on Ed Murrow's CBS show and Murrow—also a North Carolina native—said that Parris had the best job in the world, and got paid for it.)

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* A watered-down land-use plan was passed by the 1974 legislature, but it applied only to the state's coastal areas.

It is scarcely possible to capture, in a paragraph or two, the essence of Parris's columns and books (*Roaming the Mountains; My Mountains, My People; Mountain Bred; These Storied Mountains*), because they deal with the minutiae of everyday life that give it its warp and woof. From Clear Creek he reports "She's Still Hoein' Corn at 102." From Bryson City he tells the story of Sarah Palestine Kirkland, who "for 70 years, in rain and snow and dark of night, has followed the stork wherever it flew—the last of the old-time mountain midwives." (Until 1928 or 1930, Parris told me, practically everyone was delivered by a midwife or doctor at home in the hills.) Another column is entitled "Quiltin' Sparks Marriage-Talk"; another "Squirrel and Dumplings"; others "Old Man Conner's Coffin" and "Autumn's Glory Spreads Across the Hills." And these are not just tales for old folks who like to reminisce; I discovered that my own nine-year old daughter, Andrea, was avidly reading *These Storied Mountains*, catching a touch of their bittersweet nostalgia and common humanity.

"Western North Carolina," Parris observed as we sipped bourbon and chewed on pickled ramps, "is the last of the pioneer's preserve. The frontier has passed us by but this is the last isolated section to buckle under to modern times. Each day I find little pockets of this pioneer life unchanged—especially among the older people, despite the great changes all around them." The change does worry Parris. There has been more of it in the mountains in the past 20 years, he observed, especially the better roads and schools and communications. But he notes with alarm the loss of conversation, recalling how when he was a youngster "we visited with grandfathers and grandmothers and other relatives on Sundays, and everyone sat around and talked, and you had conversations at the table at every meal, and you didn't just sit down with a TV dinner and keep your mouth shut." His own grandfather, Parris said, had such a skill as a storyteller, and at remembering details, "that you could take his words and go ahead and make things." In those days, Parris observed, family history really meant something, and "you learned who your great-, and great-great grandparents were, and who begat so and so." The same loss of history is perpetrated in the schools, he said. "We've skipped so much history—put it aside as if it didn't mean anything. We sloughed off the state histories. What the kids get in school isn't humanized—there's no flesh put on the bones."

There is a fierce mountain defensiveness, even in as well traveled a mountaineer as John Parris. He rejects out of hand a view of the mountain people, either in times past or now, as an ignorant or debased type. "Many of the people who came into these mountains could speak the forgotten language of Latin, and they had the books they brought over from England with them, the classics and all, and some of these things were handed down to us." Even in Asheville, Parris said, people say to him: "Aren't you afraid to go back into the hills?" They have, he noted, "the same misconceptions about the people who live back in the hollows as people in the North who think every man down here is a gallused guy with a jug of whiskey in one hand and a rifle in the other. People ask me: 'Where can I see a mountaineer?' And I answer: 'I'm one.' "

Up in the mountains, in the village of Montreat, near Asheville, is the home of evangelist Billy Graham. From his comfortable house notched in the Smokies, Graham has gone forth to preach to huge crowds almost all over the world. Since 1947, 1.5 million people have come forward and made decisions for Christ at Graham rallies (his public relations department in Atlanta keeps count); many may have backslid, but Graham has undoubtedly changed thousands of people's lives. His fame was due initially to his vibrant, emotion-charged preaching style, but his place in American life today is due more to his closeness to men of power. He has been on friendly terms with Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon; sometimes he seems to have been a sort of ambassador to Presidents from that huge segment of America that is evangelical Christianity. Graham's strongest imprecations over the years have been directed at sexual immorality and godlessness; he was silent for years on the evils of racial segregation and never said a word against the American bombing in southeast Asia. Nor was his a voice of prophetic judgment when the depredations associated with Watergate were revealed, about the best he could muster was a mild rebuke of his friend Richard Nixon for "isolation" and poor judgment, and a suggestion that the crisis might deepen Nixon's character as the agonies of the Civil War made Lincoln the great man that he was (as if one might one day hear a mellowed Richard Nixon speak from the heart of "malice toward none, charity toward all.") Graham said: "I just can't imagine . . . how Mr. Nixon got caught in this Watergate buzzsaw, . . . because I always thought of him as a man of great integrity, of great patriotism, of great love of family, with deep religious roots." In a way, Graham was reflecting the disillusionment of his constituency, which had always wanted to see Nixon as a pillar of patriotic morality. One was tempted to say that Billy Graham, disciple of the simple carpenter from Nazareth, had supped too often at the tables of the mighty.

Economically, the mountains have suffered from many of the same problems of the east, including low-paying industry and outmigration. But the mountains are surely better off than the east. Race is not much of a problem, if only because there are few blacks (about 5 percent of total population). The mountains are not wedded to a crop like tobacco. Nor has western North Carolina experienced the boom-and-bust coal mining development that has so scarred other Appalachian regions. In fact, some western North Carolinians were resentful of their inclusion in the Appalachia program.

The leading city in the west is Asheville (population 57,681), the fifth largest in the state. But both Hugh Morton and state representative Claude de Bruhl of Asheville said that the city had given little leadership to the region. Asheville has not been much of a growth center of late; its population in 1970 was just 7,000 more than in 1930. It is situated in a valley along the French Broad River, which flows across the mountains to the Tennessee; there is a lack of space, really, to grow. Asheville had its own little golden age around the turn of the century, when its cool climate and beautiful scenery made it a fashionable resort for well-to-do Southerners. It also attracted Mr. George W. Vanderbilt, who bought 130,000 acres of mountain land around the city, appointed a youthful Gifford Pinchot (later Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior) as superintendent of his forests, and built the Biltmore mansion. This house covers four acres and has dozens of rooms; it was designed by Richard Morris Hunt and is reminiscent of the French chateaux of Blois and Chambord.

It was about the same time, in 1900, just five years after the Biltmore mansion was completed, that the novelist Thomas Wolfe was born in Asheville. In his prose he poured forth the memories of early life in Asheville and of how "mile-away hills reeked protectively above the town." A critique of Wolfe, western North Carolina's most brilliant son of letters, is beyond our scope here, but Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, friends of the Wolfe family, summed it up well when they said "he captured as did no one else the essence of his region's countryside and town, mountaineers and middle class, terror and tomfoolery." Wolfe passed away very early—at the age of 38—but one is haunted too by what he said of life at the start of *Look Homeward, Angel*: "Naked and alone we came into exile. In her dark womb we did not know our mother's face; from the prison of her flesh have we come into the unspeakable and incommunicable prison of this earth. Which of us has known his brother? Which of us has looked into his father's heart? . . . Which of us is not forever a stranger and alone?"

EAST TENNESSEE FOLKWAYS AND OAK RIDGE

East Tennessee is a land of high mountains, heavily forested foothills and narrow valleys, until the 1930's one of the most remote areas of America. The Scotch-Irish, British, and Pennsylvania Germans built their log cabins deep in the ridges when Tennessee was not yet named, and some of those enclaves remained scarcely touched by civilization for well over a century. Here touches of Elizabethan English and ballads carried from the Old World can still be heard, and one finds such strange ethnic manifestations as the Melungeons, a swarthy hill folk of mysterious beginnings whose historic memory of their own origins has been erased by their years of isolation and illiteracy.* East Tennesseans were traditionally some of the most stubbornly individualistic, reserved people in any state, often called hillbillies and the butt of malicious jokes and stories. But mostly they were simply unknown. When Horace Kephart, a St. Louis librarian, decided to go into the Great Smoky Mountains region in the early years of the 20th century, he could not find even "a magazine article, written within this generation, that described the land and its people." In his classic book, *Our Southern Highlanders*, Kephart wrote of a people "beleaguered by nature, . . . ghettoed in another planet." But the mountaineers—farmers and moonshiners and feuders and hunters alike—befriended Kephart, and he returned the favor by describing them as a "people of keen intelligence when they can see anything to win."

"When I got to this part of the country in the 1930s," former Knoxville *Journal* managing editor Steve Humphrey told me, "I thought it was the most clannish, the coldest, most reserved place I'd ever gotten into. I came from Kansas where you took strangers at face value. But here—they looked at you as if you were a damned foreigner. They distrusted any outsider." But then, Humphrey said, the old clannishness and reserve of the Scotch-Irish and other folk of East Tennessee began to fade. The reasons were complex and intertwined but formed a common pattern of adjustment to the life of the nation as a whole. The Great Smoky Mountains National Park, established in large part through Horace Kephart's inspiration, began a tourist thrust that brought in travelers from afar. The mountaineers, Humphrey noted, "realized the outsider had money, and they could take his money by being nice to him." (Some of the manifestations of the tourist boom are an offense both to nature and the true mountain culture. The worst example is the town of Gatlinburg, at the entrance to the Great Smoky Mountains Park, once a pleasant resort of stately old hotels. Now it has turned into a hurdy-gurdy of overpriced, plastic hostelries and gaudy signs to snag the tourist's dollar. Matters of taste aside, however, each tourist attraction does reduce the isolation of the mountain people.)

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* By varying theories, the Melungeons are either survivors of a Portuguese fleet dispatched in 1665 to capture Cuba from the Spanish, a lost tribe of Israel, descendants of Phoenician sailors who fled the Roman sacking of Carthage, or simply the result of cross-breeding of white pioneers with Indians and black slaves. Several other theories have also been advanced, but the fact is that only 100 or so now survive in their chief place of residence, the Clinch Valley.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of TVA and its great system of dams and steam plants. The agency's early resettlement of bottomland farmers to make way for the dams tore cruelly at the old social order of East Tennessee, but TVA did introduce a fresh stream of formally educated and more liberal people into the region. Then came Oak Ridge and its scientific community, gradually interacting with the mountain people. Roads began to pierce the intermontane wilderness, and finally there were interstate highways too. Radio and television brought in the voices, and then the faces, of the outside world. And then there was the discovery that being a "hillbilly" could be an asset. Country music is a direct outgrowth of hillbilly music; Tennessee Ernie Ford and Roy Acuff and Chet Atkins and many other country music entertainers came out of East Tennessee and offered no apologies for it.

World War II and its aftermath brought a strong, fresh wave of industrialization, not only in Knoxville and Chattanooga but also in such places as Kingsport (electronics, chemicals, book printing), Bristol (computing equipment), Morristown (textiles, furniture, electronics), and Maryville (aluminum). Many East Tennessee counties are being stripped for coal. Creative cottage industries—like the lovely Iron Mountain Stoneware made by 60 craftsmen in a tranquil village in the most northeasterly corner of the state—are relatively rare. The future of East Tennessee, Senator Howard Baker, Jr., said, seems to lie in more and more heavy industry.

Still, desperate poverty afflicts many East Tennessee counties. And there remain pockets of incredible isolation. In Oak Ridge one evening, I had a talk with Peter Cohan, a sophisticated educator who has carried programs in science to some of the most remote hollows of the region. Like Horace Kephart before him, Cohan made many friends. While we talked, he suddenly produced a mountain dulcimer made of wormy chestnut and played some of the sweet tunes he had learned from the mountain people. And this was the story he told:

> I can take you through time. We'll take a truck and move up into those hills. You'll sense you've moved out of current time to another time. Back in Stony Fork and other places in those hills, a man gets to be a school principal by his physical strength. The question is—can he beat the 17-year-old boy, and maybe his father? Teachers sometimes walk around with a huge oak paddle.
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> You just have to accept that there are very different value systems from what we know. Many mountaineers, for instance, have had religious experiences that give them strength and very

> strong convictions. They disagree strongly with science. I've been in little one- and two-room schools and heard teachers insist that everyone knows we haven't been to the moon. They're fiercely independent and critically suspicious of things that affect their religious beliefs or the religion of their children. They may have all the NASA literature about the moon landings, but they just don't believe it or what they see on television.
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> There's a lot of drinking out in the hills—but it's a covert way of drinking, out behind the barn. And there's still a big problem with guns. There's little verbal conflict. It's not talk—it's shoot. Lots of killings and maimings result.
>
> But the mountaineers can judge people very well. They have an old saying about a man they admire: "He ain't got much book learnin', but he's got common sense."

Many people born into that mountain environment now work in Knoxville or Oak Ridge. There is a successful Knoxville lawyer who remembers that he arrived there on foot, wearing his sister's borrowed shoes. All of this creates what Cohan calls "a tremendous disparity in time phase." Some of his coworkers, he said, were born "in log cabins with dirt floors and no electric power. Yet today East Tennessee has a place like Oak Ridge, with its nuclear laboratories. That's how far we've moved in the lifetime of those people."

From the North Carolina border moving westward, East Tennessee has the Great Smokies, which are covered with snow during the winter months and offer spectacular shows of flowering shrubs and trees in springtime and changing leaves in autumn; the Great Valley of East Tennessee, which runs clear from Virginia to Alabama and is home for most of the region's people and industries; and finally the Cumberland Mountains, with rich coal deposits and spots of fertile farmland.

Oak Ridge does offer one of the most fascinating case studies anywhere of the sudden intrusion of an advanced scientific-technological community into a pristine, isolated agrarian society. It all began on a spring day of 1942 when three men on a top-secret mission stood atop a peak and looked over the hill-locked valleys with little communities peopled by simple farm folk who could trace their past to 1792 when pioneers came from Virginia, by way of the Cumberland Gap. To the north rose the foothills of the Cumberlands, to the southeast the peaks of the Smokies. The government men were agents of the Manhattan District, the code name for the secret wartime project to build man's ultimate weapon, the atomic bomb. They were looking for a place to produce enough uranium-235 for the bomb, and the site they found—along a crest known as Black Oak Ridge—fitted their specifications perfectly. It was close enough to a major city (Knoxville), rather sparsely settled, well watered, and supplied with abundant electric power from TVA's nearby Norris Dam. The terrain of ridges and valleys, it was thought, would provide natural separation between several plants and buffers "if anything went wrong" with the nuclear experiment.

By September 1942 the decision had been made final to build America's largest atomic city on this site. The government purchased 58,880 acres, paying the owners $45 an acre and ordering them off by the first of January, 1943. Into the area poured the Army Engineers, countless private contractors, thousands of construction workers, mechanics, and scientists of world renown. High fences went up, the severest wartime security measures were ordered, and the scientific work got underway with startling rapidity. Between two peaceful ridges some three miles from the center of the new town the so-called Y-12 complex (a name derived from the map location) was built to produce uranium-235; simultaneously in a wooded area near the western limits of the city the enormous K-25 plant was constructed for the separation of isotopes of uranium by means of a new gaseous diffusion process. The original research laboratory, K-10, rose at the same time, including the famed graphite reactor (now a national historic landmark) for production of fissionable material by the "pile" process. Enrico Fermi, who had supervised the world's first nuclear chain reaction at Chicago less than a year before, directed loading of fuel slugs into the graphite reactor on November 3, 1943. W. E. Thompson, one of the wartime scientists at Oak Ridge, later observed: "We can only feel amazement at the boldness with which the wartime atomic energy projects were planned and the speed and success with which they were carried out."

The growth of the town, which would soon be called Oak Ridge, was almost as phenomenal. In one of those few instances in human affairs when haste has made for excellence, the architectural-engineering firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill was given a topographical map of an unidentified area and miraculously came up with a new community plan which it submitted to the Manhattan District within 72 hours. In the wartime rush, one might have expected cheesebox subdivisions of houses lined up in monotonous rows. And indeed, there were a lot of barracks-like dormitories and primitive shelters called "hutments," devoid of glass windows, running water, or winter heating. (Most of the black labor force brought into Oak Ridge was confined to hutments, a fact which still embarrasses Oak Ridgers.) Oak Ridge in the wartime years had the appearance of an enormous, constantly muddy construction camp. But the roads planned by the Skidmore firm, even if initially sidewalkless, did follow the contours of the terrain. The houses were gracefully sited along the natural contours, with picture windows facing the woods. Cutting of trees was kept to a minimum. At war's end the temporary barracks and hutments were demolished, leaving one of the most tastefully laid-out towns in the country. The most undistinguished parts, it would turn out in later years, were the Downtown Shopping Center and the Oak Ridge Turnpike, the connecting line of a city nine miles long and two miles wide, slightly larger than Manhattan.*

Within the wartime context, the Manhattan District's objectives had certainly been met. By mid-1945 the Oak Ridge plants (then assigned the cover name of "Clinton Engineer Works," after a nearby town) employed a peak of 82,000 persons, and the town of Oak Ridge had a population of 75,000. Within two and a half years, it had become the fifth largest city in Tennessee, though more than half the population departed shortly after the war.

In 1945, with the dropping of the atomic bomb over Japan, the secret of what had been happening at Oak Ridge and the other wartime atomic towns—Los Alamos (where the atomic bomb was actually designed and built) and Hanford (the principal location for the production of plutonium)—became known to the world. Two years later, the Manhattan District, including all the operations at Oak Ridge, were transferred to the new Atomic Energy Commission, and in 1949 there arrived the historic day when the fences came down and Oak Ridge was "opened" to the world. The X-10 plant became the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, one of the world's largest nuclear research centers. Since 1948, the Union Carbide Corporation has operated the three government plants in Oak Ridge under contract with the AEC; the research policies, however, are determined by the laboratory management in direct collaboration with the AEC.

Oak Ridge since the 1940s has remained at the forefront of nuclear research in America with an array of activities that range from basic research in exotic elements to the production of weapons components and the development of new reactor concepts. As in wartime, the laboratory still directs the operation of the AEC's several gaseous diffusion plants for the production of enriched U-235. In recent years the focus of the nuclear research has been on the perfection of the fast breeder reactor, hoped to be a major solution to the country's energy "crisis" of this and the next decades. One of the most awesome sights I have ever seen is the laboratory's high flux isotope reactor, used for research in the creation of heavy elements. In deep water, one sees the deep blue, luminescent glow of cooling reactor shields, symbols of the fearfulness and promise of atomic energy in our time.

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* Eden Ross Lipson, in a delightful set of letters about Oak Ridge written for the Institute of Current World Affairs, has characterized "downtown" Oak Ridge as "an uninspired, profitable, and unmistakable bit of Americana circa the mid-1950s." Despite an impressive civic center, I noted that the Oak Ridge Turnpike had evolved into the kind of gaudy and commercialized affair that sophisticated people like Oak Ridgers are supposed to abhor. But the commercial development, it should be pointed out, has been the responsibility of Oak Ridge's business interests, not its technical community.

Dr. Alvin M. Weinberg, who was director of the laboratory through 1973, said its future lay in the study of energy in its broadest context, with atomic energy only one component. "The laboratory," he told me, "will in fact have important secondary thrusts in environmental studies, in the biomedical sciences, in the basic sciences, and possibly even in social science." The disciplines, he said, turn out to be closely interrelated. "When you realize the major pollution of the air and water is in one way or the other connected with the production of energy, then you realize that if you are to be an energy laboratory, you almost by definition become an environmental laboratory. You realize that environmental impacts affect the incidence of cancer—and in fact the laboratory is now deeply involved in research in the causes of cancer and its cures." A major concern of the laboratory is the safety of nuclear reactors, and also thermal pollution from reactors. There is an aquatic ecology laboratory which uses a computer to control the temperatures in six fish ponds, measuring thermal shock (rapid changes in water temperature) as well as long-range effects of altered water temperatures. The work in aquatic ecology, Weinberg believes, illustrates the great advantage of an interdisciplinary institution such as the Oak Ridge Laboratory, which can integrate at the working level the study of problems which are fragmented when they get started at the Washington bureaucratic level. There are some two dozen Ph.D's working in the environmental sciences division of the laboratory, said to be the largest group of ecologists working under one roof in the country.

Among the more interesting projects of the laboratory are those specifically designed to ease the energy crisis, including the gasification and liquification of coal and ways that electrical power plants, both nuclear and conventional, can be made more efficient. By the early '70's, the laboratory was deemphasizing its earlier projects which involved huge demands for power, such as the desalting of ocean water. "We had thought," Weinberg noted, "that energy was going to be immensely cheap, so that the right direction would be to substitute energy for raw materials. It turned out that we were wrong." Thus the important future directions, he concluded, were in making nuclear and other energy forms more efficient and environmentally benign. An example of the new orientation was establishment in 1970 of an environmental program at the laboratory, with financial support from the National Science Foundation. The program involved various types of social scientists, as well as technicians. While the laboratory had historically been concerned only with the supply of energy, part of the revised focus was on energy conservation.

Oak Ridgers themselves have reason to be concerned about environmentally benign energy production. Within 20 miles of the city are six TVA coal-burning steam plants. Two of them—including the Bull Run Steam plant, whose 950,000-kilowatt capacity made it the world's largest power plant when it went on line in 1966—are cheek by jowl with Oak Ridge itself. With TVA selling more and more electricity to distant spots like New York and Chicago, and with a real air quality problem in the Oak Ridge region, some local people are raising serious questions. "Are we," Peter Cohan asked, "to become a power park for the eastern half of the United States?"

A visit to a plant like Bull Run impresses one with the "giantism" of the power production world. The plant burns 7,800 tons of coal a day, piled in huge mountains beside the railroad right-of-way bringing the fuel in from poor, benighted Hazard, Kentucky. One feels rather awed when he stands beside one of the huge pulverizers, which grind the coal down to powder so fine that it can be blown, like a jet of gas, into 12-story-high boilers with fireboxes that record internal temperatures of 2,600 degrees. Yet for all that modernity, new precipitators have been required at Bull Run because of the fly-ash fallout. G. H. Wheaton, the plant superintendent and veteran of 35 years work for TVA, said he was often besieged with complaints from nearby Oak Ridge houses. When I asked him what he planned to do when he retired, Wheaton replied: "I'll sit by my window and look up to the plant and if I see a whiff of smoke I'll phone the engineer and raise hell."

The contrasts between Oak Ridge's scientific intelligentsia and the East Tennessee mountain folks were and are immense: one highly educated, the other struggling to eliminate illiteracy: the one given to fine wines and classical music, the other to white whiskey and hillbilly; the one given to multitudinous civic organizations ("from the African Violet Society on up," one Oak Ridger commented), the other traditionally ingrown and suspicious. This is not to say there is something intrinsically *better* about the Oak Ridgers; the mountain people, for instance, may enjoy a much better family life than the scientists and their families, who often have severe problems in human relations. But the fact is that in Oak Ridge, family incomes average around $12,000 a year while in surrounding Anderson County, a dirt-poor strip-mining area, there are more than 2,000 families that live below the poverty line with incomes averaging just $2,000 a year. Old style political machines hang on in some of the surrounding mountain counties, while Oak Ridge practices egghead democracy with a city council consisting of 11 AEC or Union Carbide employees, several of them Ph.D.'s, lined up against one lonely carpenter. (The high intelligence level creates a kind of problem, since the councilmen thrash every problem to pieces and are unwilling to take the city manager's advice. The city thinks of itself as liberal Democratic, which is true in primaries because of the intellectual vote and the presence of strong, politically active unions. But the town has voted for most Republican Presidential candidates.)

The early attitude of Oak Ridge's East Tennessee neighbors was far from friendly. "They didn't know what we were or what we were doing down here," Oak Ridge attorney Eugene Joyce commented. "We were all too smart and had no sense and were too liberal. They wanted us to stay inside our fence and keep quiet." Joyce told the story of when he campaigned for Anderson County attorney in the early 1950s:

> My wife campaigned with me. We went up and down the country roads. I was a real stranger out there—one of the first guys that every ventured out from Oak Ridge into the country to run for public office. We ran into this old fellow at the drugstore opposite the county courthouse.
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> "Where you from?" he asked.
>
> "Let's face it," I replied. "I'm an outlander. I'm from New York. But I've been down here some 20 years."
>
> Then my wife walked up and the East Tennessean said: "Where's she from?"
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> In her best Southern drawl, Mrs. Joyce replied: "I'm from West Tennessee, down by the Mississippi."
>
> The old fellow looked at me and said: "She'll take up the slack."

Amazingly, Joyce won the election, and today he thinks only a small part of the old antagonism is left. "We got less brash, and they got to know us." Joyce said there were "thousands of do-gooders in Oak Ridge, learning to use their talents in a more reserved way." Among them, he noted, are wives who do immense good through clubs and churches and projects for the Appalachian poor outside the city. Richard Smyser, editor of the *Oak Ridger*, said most people in the town had become "clawingly appreciative of the natural culture of the Appalachian people."

One of the most amusing and perhaps important incidents in Oak Ridge's history was a visit in the early 1960's by the famed anthropologist Margaret Mead, who castigated Oak Ridgers for taking too little interest in their mountaineer neighbors. The town reacted defensively and angrily, stepping up efforts—many of which had already begun—to provide rehabilitation for physically and mentally handicapped children and adults of the area, opening Oak Ridge's hospitals and clinics to its neighbors, setting up a pioneering Planned Parenthood League of the Southern Mountains, and a summertime program of communication in the area of arts and crafts. "Overall," Smyser said, "Margaret Mead's coming was a good thing. She should come back."

(If she does, one wonders if she would repeat the question Dr. Weinberg said she had addressed to a gathering of Oak Ridge women: "Now tell me, do scientists make good lovers?" Regretfully, I must report that Dr. Mead insists she did not pose that question. "It's just a male nightmare," she told me. She said she had been able to make her painfully incisive comments about Oak Ridge, cataloguing the scientists' sins of omission in relating to the broader community, because one of the scientists' wives had written to her regularly—but secretly—over a period of years to give her the scuttlebutt on the town.)

Weinberg said the laboratory and its highly educated, technical work force were having a real impact on the service workers, mostly native East Tennesseans "who have these rather backward traditions." The broader horizons and stronger aspirations of the technical personnel, whose native cities were all over America and the world, Weinberg suggested, were rubbing off on the local people. "They're not all that satisfied to have their kids do just what they've done. Many of the children of Oak Ridge workers are much more upwardly mobile than the workers who are not associated with Oak Ridge. The workers see what education can do for you."

Ironically, this is happening while the Oak Ridge scientists—veterans and more recent arrivals in East Tennessee's "great, swinging, enlightened city" of the hot and cold war years—feel the first blush of enthusiasm is past. Smyser suggested that Oak Ridge was experiencing a kind of "municipal menopause." With budget cuts in the early '70's, many talented and gifted AEC scientists had lost their jobs and were suffering simultaneous middle age and early retirement. Those sophisticated cocktail-dinner parties, at which Oak Ridgers "sit on the floor and argue like hell until midnight" (Joyce's words) were losing their luster for some people. The cultural opportunities, said to be more appropriate to a city of 250,000 than Oak Ridge's 28,319, no longer proved as irresistible a magnet. One senses a lack of a full sense of community and belonging in Oak Ridge. I asked Smyser, who arrived there 25 years ago to start the *Oak Ridger*, now an outstanding small daily, if he and his family didn't consider Oak Ridge their real home now. We were sitting on the back porch of his tasteful ridgetop home, looking out several miles to lovely mountain ridges in the twilight of a perfect summer day, and I expected an unambiguous "yes." But it did not come. "There are lots of other interesting people and places in the world," he replied.

KNOXVILLE (STILL THE "UGLIEST CITY"?)

I suppose I should approach a description of Knoxville, the biggest city of East Tennessee, with a touch of trepidation because of its unhappy experience with outside commentators. John Gunther, in *Inside U. S. A.*, called Knoxville "the ugliest city I ever saw in America," an appellation that still rankles in this Tennessee River town of old red brick factories and office buildings. A Nashville newspaperman told me that "Gunther was probably right." Knoxville, he said, is a "grim industrial city with tough, ultra-personal, and sometimes corrupt politics. And the Knoxville *Journal* is the graveyard of journalism." When it became known, in 1945, that atomic research had been underway at Oak Ridge during the war, there was a joke told around Tennessee that if a bomb went off accidentally, Knoxville would be "the least missed city in the United States."

The indictments and jokes, however, appear a little unfair, especially in view of what has taken place in Knoxville in the last quarter century. Gunther's controversial quote, in fact, helped to jolt Knoxville into some constructive action. The city could not change its history as an ill-planned, ill-conceived country town, but it could—and did—begin to change. "For one thing," a local sage told me, "we had six or seven wonderful deaths." There was some renovation of the center city, with a handsome mall and enclosed shopping area, and even some shiny new high-rise office buildings. TVA's electric power obviated the belching coal furnaces that cast a dark cloud over the city and made it almost as dark as night in the middle of the day. The University of Tennessee, which has the headquarters of its statewide system at Knoxville, shucked its old reputation as a football college and scored advances in physical plant and intellectual quality (despite egregious lapses like opening up its facilities to a 1970 Billy Graham crusade that turned out to be a kind of campaign rally for a visiting President Nixon, with strongarm tactics used against any and all dissenters). A number of university and TVA people became active in Knoxville affairs, further diluting the influence of the city's old guard. Cultural enrichment came via a new coliseum, built over great opposition, which attracts many traveling plays and other events and is one of the most used in the country. From its old concentration on industries like textiles and iron, the town shifted its sights to being a wholesale distribution center for East Tennessee. The Knoxville banks, incredibly stuck-in-the-mud and closely allied to a conservative power structure that resisted unions or threatening new economic enterprises, began to widen their horizons a little.

The downtown banks and mercantile interests, however, were too lethargic to make the center city the focus of Knoxville's really important postwar growth. That occurred some 10 miles to the west, where West Town Mall, an ultramodern, multimillion-dollar office building and shopping center complex was built—depending in large measure on outside capital. West Town Mall sits on Kingston Pike, an example of the gauchest strip development. But while the planning is atrocious, at least there has been the spark of growth there, which people equate with success in this country. And if one leaves some of the major highways, some lovely residential sections can be found. With its choice location in the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, Knoxville *could* be one of the more attractive cities of the country.

One of the Knoxville deaths that caused private rejoicing in some quarters was that of Guy Lincoln Smith, editor from 1936 to 1938 of the *Journal*. Smith for many years was Republican state chairman and a close ally of Carroll Reece. He was a strong-minded man who thought that not just the editorial pages but also the news columns should reflect his archconservative convictions. The paper condemned all progressive causes and periodically discovered Communism, subversion, and immorality in the hills of East Tennessee. The *Journal* lost some of its bite after Smith died, but it had already given up its Sunday edition and fallen in circulation far behind the blander but mediocre *News Sentinel*, a Scripps-Howard paper. Steve Humphrey, retired managing editor of the *Journal*, said of the *News-Sentinel*: "They're broadminded. We never pretended to be broadminded."

Another declined power is former Knoxville mayor and Republican political boss Cas Walker, a wealthy owner of a string of grocery stores who had a pretty free hand in deciding, for many years, who got elected and who didn't in Knoxville. Democrats attacked Walker as a man who played skillfully on people's emotions to discredit his opposition, but I also heard that blacks liked him because he got job opportunities for many of them and put some of his stores in black areas, keeping prices lower there than in his other outlets. Now in his seventies, Walker's influence has subsided with the new, open spirit in Knoxville.

WESTERN VIRGINIA

FROM THE BLUE RIDGE TO CUMBERLAND GAP

Western Virginia is a world to itself, a region of mountains and valleys quite distinct from Tidewater and Piedmont, a "puzzle of compartments" with differing natural and human characteristics. The eastern flank of the region is the lovely Blue Ridge, which rises as a line of low hills in western Loudoun County, near the Potomac, and widens southwestward, boasting the highest peaks in the state, and encompasses whole counties near the North Carolina line. On the western slope of the Blue Ridge lies the Great Valley, a long, fertile furrow in the mountains running from the Potomac to the Tennessee border in the south. The broad northern section is known as the Valley of Virginia, the most famous section of which is the fabled Shenandoah Valley. West of the valley rise the mountains of the Allegheny region. Finally, there are the Southwestern Highlands, a triangular wedge between Kentucky and Tennessee that ends at the historic Cumberland Gap.

The hollows of the Blue Ridge were settled in the late 1700's by mountain folk who remained there for generation after generation, in a kind of suspended animation, while the rest of America changed. This is one of the regions where a dialect close to Elizabethan English survived into our century. As recently as 1928–29, children were found in the Blue Ridge who had never seen the American flag and had no idea of the world beyond their mountains. Roads, motorcars, and generally improved communications began to break down the wall of isolation in the 1930's, and many of the mountain folk were forced to move when the Shenandoah National Park, stretching from Front Royal to Waynesboro and topped by the Skyline Drive, was created. Further south, many Blue Ridge areas were made into national forests. But to this day Franklin County, south of Roanoke, remains one of the great moonshining counties of America. (In a recent year revenue agents seized 424 stills in Virginia and destroyed 23,000 gallons of "white lightning." The value of Virginia moonshine at illegal retail outlets was estimated at $1 million a year.)

The Skyline Drive and the park areas along it, within easy motoring distance of Washington, are heavily used by visitors and represent one of the prime recreational areas of the eastern United States. The park itself is a splendid example of the opportunities for recycling heavily used land to create islands of peace and beauty in easy reach of megalopolis. As George B. Hartzog, then director of the National Park Service, said in 1971: "Look at Shenandoah National Park. It was created from an area that was heavily utilized. They had cut every stick on it. They plowed every acre that was fit for plowing. But then it was set aside for a national park. Nature has healed the land, and here we are proposing some 65,000 acres of it for wilderness classification."

A very new but grave threat to the fringes of the Blue Ridge and nearby areas of Shenandoah Valley has been posted by an explosion in sales of mountain and riverfront acreage for vacation retreats or "second homes" for the people of the metropolitan areas. No one saw much problem in the early trickle of city people who sought out scattered sites for vacation homes. But starting in the late 1960's, a new and more ominous development occurred: the arrival of real estate speculators who carved up mountain acreage into half- or quarter-acre lots, selling them at inflated prices. Whole second-home subdivisions, vacation villages, and ski slopes began to sprout. Real estate values were driven up so rapidly that the natives of these counties often found they could not afford to buy land for their own homes. On Massanutten Mountain, a dramatic 35-mile-long mountain that rises out of the floor of the Shenandoah Valley, there were 27 developments by 1973. They ranged from a $50 million Del Webb project, complete with ski slopes and sewage treatment facilities, to one real estate development of half-acre lots devoid of roads, sewerage, or utility easements. The ecological hazard involved in all of this was apparent enough; moreover, the arrival of suburbia-in-the-mountains could ruin the natural beauty the purchasers had hoped to find in the first instance.

The Great Valley, stretching some 360 miles southwesterly from the Potomac, is a land in many ways blessed. The mountains on each side provide a superb setting; the lime-rich soil is excellent for farming; there are many rivers and streams; and the string of cities along the valley floor has developed modestly, providing a fine balance between human settlement and open space. In recent years industry has arrived, chiefly in food processing, wood working, textiles, light machinery, and the like, providing employment for the surplus farm labor but not in great enough concentrations to imperil the environment. And of course there is the romance, especially of the Shenandoah Valley—

O Shenandoah, I long to hear you,
  Away, you rollin' river.
O Shenandoah, I long to hear you,
  Away, I'm bound away,
  'Cross the wide Missouri.

The song obviously originated with people who had known the valley but had then gone father westward in the migrations of the republic's early years. Among the pioneer families had been ones bearing the names of Lincoln and Houston. John Sevier, destined to be the "father of Tennessee," founded the valley town of New Market in 1761. Later the valley would be the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson, and of course the famous Byrd brothers.

The land has been well husbanded, ever since the early settlement of the Shenandoah Valley by the Germans coming southward from Pennsylvania, bringing with them superior agricultural skills. To this day, even the casual traveler can see how well the farm resources of the Valley of Virginia are managed. Winchester, in the north, is the great apple-growing center; as one moves southward, one comes on great poultry (chicken and turkey) farms, and a wide diversity in grains, cattle, and hogs. Tourism is also of great importance, for this valley has great caverns honeycombing its limestone floor, the famed Natural Bridge (a limestone wonder Jefferson called "the most sublime of Nature's works"), and the national forests which draw millions of visitors each year. To the north, where the Shenandoah meets the Potomac, lies historic Harper's Ferry; at Winchester, which exchanged hands 70 times in the Civil War, are the side-by-side headquarters of

Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson and Union General Philip Sheridan, and the surveying office used by George Washington in 1784. Near Harrisonburg the traveler finds Mennonites in their black suits and long dresses; Staunton is the site of the Presbyterian manse where Wilson was born; Lexington has the contrasting elegance of Washington and Lee University and the stark buildings of the Virginia Military Institute.

The people of the valley tend to be a thrifty, debt-fearing, hardworking lot, many still descended from or related to the Pennsylvania Dutch. In politics they are staunch fiscal (but not racial) conservatives. They seem to care little whether a candidate runs under Democratic or Republican colors, as long as he exhibits a frugality and opposition to big government in the mode of Winchester's late Harry F. Byrd.

Roanoke, crowded up against the Blue Ridge well to the south in the Great Valley, is the only city of any real size (92,115 in 1970) in this part of the state. I was amazed to find how very mountainous its setting is. The city sprang up in the 1880's, the creation of the Norfolk and Western Railway. Over the years it successfully sought a wide range of industries, and its go-getting spirit gave it the reputation of being Virginia's most "Mid-western" city. (The image was reinforced by Roanoke's status as the only major Virginia city founded after the Civil War, thus free of the psychic scars of that conflict.) A series of grave economic reversals for the city began in 1958, when the N & W shops stopped making steam locomotives, throwing 2,000 men out of work. But the local boosters went to work and recruited many new plants, and while the center-city population declined, the suburbs expanded at a good clip. Roanoke is also the trade and service center for a wide area, not only all of the southern part of the valley but also for virtually all of southwestern Virginia as well.

Population is light and prosperity an elusive factor in the rugged Allegheny Mountain province, west of the Great Valley and along the West Virginia line. (The Allegheny Plateau actually continues westward, one ridge after the other, to the valley of the Ohio; as Jean Gottmann pointed out, "the commonwealth includes only the façade, often very shallow, of this vast mountain world.") The best known industry of the Alleghenies within Virginia is the giant plant of the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company at Covington, infamous both for its pollution of the Jackson River and for the harsh sulfurous smell it throws over the town. In the early '70's the pollution was gradually being brought under control, and of course Covington remained thankful for a factory that had been its economic lifeblood for seven decades and still provided 2,000 jobs. Hardscrabble farming in the hollows characterizes this region, but by way of contrast there is also Hot Springs with its sumptuous 17,000-acre resort, The Homestead, where 900 employees look after the comfort of 900 guests at American plan rates averaging close to $50 a day.

The Southwestern Highlands, locale of Virginia's famous "Fightin' Ninth" congressional district, is the commonwealth's poorest, least-educated, most poorly-housed area—in the words of one observer, a "rural slum."* Race is not the reason, because blacks make up a meager 2.4 percent of the population. The region has a scattering of cattle and burley tobacco farms, but there are scarcely any other districts in the United States where agricultural methods are so primitive (sickles, scythes, and horse-drawn plows down to the last few years) and where the farmers' standard of living is so abysmally low. Based on the 1959 Census of Agriculture, for instance, a farm operator level-of-living index was developed, measuring farm prosperity in terms of average sales per farm, value of land and buildings, how many farms had telephones, freezers, and automobiles. The Virginia Ninth ranked fourth from the bottom in the entire country, trailing only the two congressional districts of neighboring East Kentucky and one district in Mississippi.

The highlands have a scattering of industry, but the most important income comes from the relatively limited but rich coal fields there. Virginia coal production, the great bulk of which is in this region, rose from 18 million tons in 1950 to 35 million tons in the early 1970's, about 6 percent of the U.S. production. The industry provides an annual payroll of some $100 million, and one shudders to think what would become of the typical Appalachian folk of these Southwestern Highlands if it were not for coal. Not that mining itself is a very safe or desirable line of work, at least by most people's standards. In one recent year 27 Virginia miners died in accidents in the mines, including 10 from roof falls. The mile-deep Beatrice Mine at Keen Mountain is a constant concern of the mine safety inspectors, since it is one of the most gassy coal mines anywhere, "liberating" some three million cubic feet of volatile methane gas each day.

Unemployment has been high in the coal fields ever since the postwar automation, and there are many counties where more than a third of the families earn less than $4,000 a year. Thousands of the highlanders have deserted their region for better jobs, especially in the Hampton Roads shipbuilding complexes and the Detroit auto plants. But still, many return whenever they get a chance, in the prototypal Appalachian mountaineer fashion.

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* In 1970, for instance, 28 percent of the 9th's homes lacked plumbing facilities, a higher figure, even, than the Southside. (The state average was 11.6 percent.)

The dying coal mine town of St. Charles, close to the Kentucky border in Lee County, provides a picture of the saddest part of the highlands in our time. As reported by journalist Paul G. Edwards:

> St. Charles is a picture postcard no one would want to print. It lies near the head of a hollow, where sooty, two-story brick buildings line both sides of the narrow, twisting main street. Many storefronts are boarded over. A half-dozen dimly lit snack bars and grocery stores are open seven days a week. On a Sunday, the townspeople drift from one to another, talking, playing pinball machines and drinking coffee.
>
> Chickens strut in the empty lots between buildings, scratching the site of a now demolished hotel or grocery store that disappeared with the mining heyday that ended with World War II.

And then there are depressing stories like that of Tazewell, where the town's biggest industry, which employed 1,000 people producing electrolytic capacitors for television sets, suddenly closed in the early 1970's. General Instrument Co., the multinational conglomerate that owned the plant, decided that because of labor costs and tariff concessions it would be cheaper to move the whole manufacturing facility to Taiwan and Portugal. The Tazewell workers were left in jobless desperation.

On the bright side, a startling economic recovery has begun around the town of Duffield, on the Clinch River, sparked by the planners of the TVA's tributary area division. And the city of Bristol, which sits cheek-by-jowl with a Tennessee city of the same name on the state border ("State Street" is the official boundary), has some reason for hope because it abuts the newly thriving Bristol-Kingsport-Johnson City area of eastern Tennessee.*

The Southwestern Highlands—and our story—end at Cumberland Gap, that dramatic notch in the mountains through which the first white man, Dr. Thomas Walker, passed on March 6, 1750. The date was almost a century and a half after the first settlers had landed at Jamestown, almost 400 miles to the east. Some years later Walker's path would be trod again by Daniel Boone, blazing the famed Wilderness Road into Kentucky, the American West of its day. In time, thousands would make the same trek westward, up and over Cumberland Gap, or over the Great Valley Road into Tennessee. And many of those pioneers, or their descendants, would later push to the end of the primeval forest, onto the open prairies and then across the Mississippi and the Missouri, and over the Great Plains to the Southwest and the Pacific. The restless progeny of an Old Dominion too settled in its ways to accommodate them, even in its first centuries, their destiny would be to people a continent.

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* The two Bristols, incorporated by their respective state legislatures in 1856, came close to an armed clash in 1889 as a result of a dispute over where the boundary ran. The controversy was finally decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. According to political scientist C. P. Curcio, a local resident, "Each city has separate post offices, court systems, educational systems, prisons, courthouses, and police and fire departments. The separation of these services has caused much discussion and speculation about the possibility of consolidating at least some of these services in order to avoid duplication. No way has been found, however, to overcome the barrier of the state boundary line." In 1970, Virginia's Bristol had 14,857 people, and Tennessee's 20,064.

4 THE SUB-REGION: A DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

W. THOMAS JAMISON

Many teachers are employed in a particular part of the country without really understanding the demographic nature of the population from which their children are drawn. This study is of the sub-region consisting of those counties included in the Title IX grant received by Appalachian State University in 1975. Obviously, this analysis is designed for those residing and teaching in this area, but it should provide interesting descriptive information for Appalachian teachers everywhere in the region. Dr. Jamison is an associate professor of education at Appalachian State University.

INTRODUCTION

The sub-region that is the subject of this profile consists of twenty-two counties in southwestern Virginia, northeastern Tennessee, and northwestern North Carolina. Eleven of the counties are in North Carolina (Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Burke, Caldwell, McDowell, Mitchell, Watauga, Wilkes, and Yancey), seven in Tennessee (Carter, Greene, Hawkins, Johnson, Sullivan, Unicoi, and Washington), and four in Virginia (Grayson, Scott, Smyth, and Washington).[1]

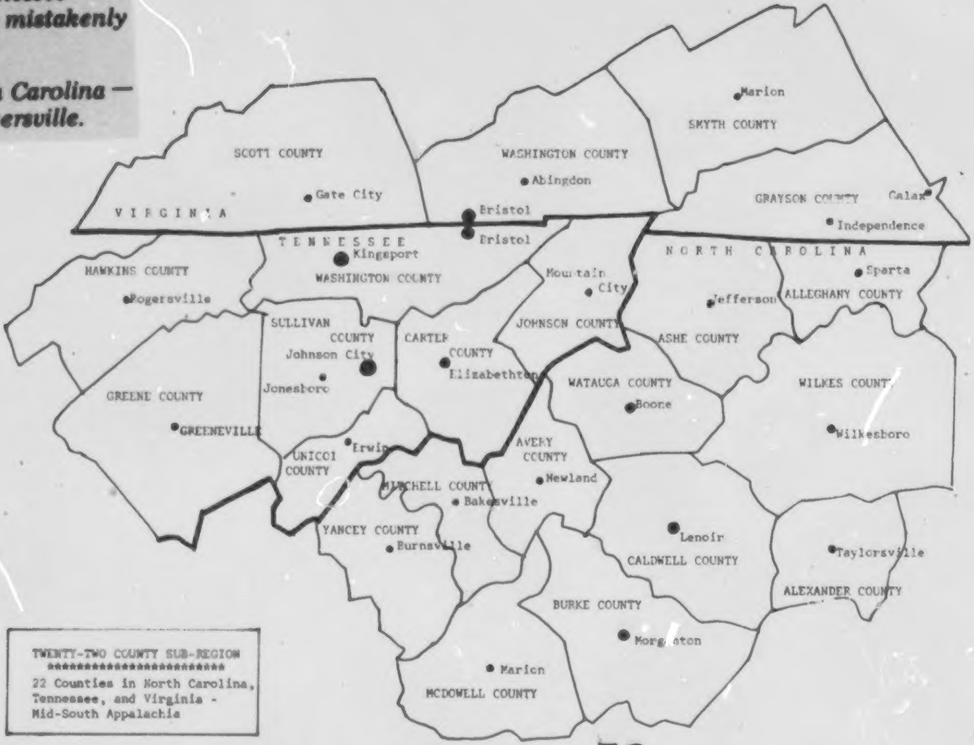
The sub-region consists of 8838 square miles of non-coal producing mid-south Appalachia. These 8838 square miles encompass a variety of landscapes. The variety ranges from the lower elevations of the North Carolina and Virginia foot-hills and upper Tennessee River (elevation 1200–1500 feet above sea level) to the higher elevations of the area's mountains (Mount Mitchell, in North Carolina; Mount Rogers, in Virginia; and Roan Mountain, in Tennessee, each of which range over one mile in elevation).

Farms, small towns, and cities are found among the forested mountains, foothills, and valleys close to some of the East Coast's last re-

Errata (Map Corrections):

Washington and Sullivan Counties in Tennessee — place names are mistakenly interchanged.

Bakeville, North Carolina — should read Bakersville.


SCOTT COUNTY
Gate City
VIRGINIA
WASHINGTON COUNTY
Abingdon
Bristol
Marion
SMYTH COUNTY
GRAYSON COUNTY
Galax
Independence
TENNESSEE
Bristol
Kingsport
WASHINGTON COUNTY
HAWKINS COUNTY
Rogersville
NORTH CAROLINA
Sparta
ALLEGHANY COUNTY
Mountain City
Jefferson
JOHNSON COUNTY
ASHE COUNTY
SULLIVAN COUNTY
Johnson City
Jonesboro
CARTER COUNTY
Elizabethton
WATAUGA COUNTY
Boone
WILKES COUNTY
Wilkesboro
GREENE COUNTY
GREENEVILLE
UNICOI COUNTY
Erwin
AVERY COUNTY
Newland
MITCHELL COUNTY
Bakesville
YANCEY COUNTY
Burnsville
Lenoir
CALDWELL COUNTY
Taylorsville
ALEXANDER COUNTY
BURKE COUNTY
Morganton
Marion
MCDOWELL COUNTY

TWENTY-TWO COUNTY SUB-REGION
****
22 Counties in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia - Mid-South Appalachia

maining wilderness areas (e.g. Linville Gorge, North Carolina). For the most part the area is populated by the descendants of Scotch-Irish, English, and German settlers who came to the area in the late Colonial Period. It is the people of this sub-region within Appalachia who are the subject of this overview.

POPULATION

In 1970 the sub-region had a total population of 791,682.[2] This figure represents an increase of some 106,955 inhabitants over the 1960 headcount of 684,727 (15.6% increase). This growth was not evenly distributed, for four counties experienced declines in population during the decade 1960–1970 (Ashe, Mitchell, and Yancey, in North Carolina; and Grayson, in Virginia). Nine counties experienced the greatest growth with each having at least a 10% increase in population over 1960 (Alexander, Burke, Caldwell, McDowell, and Watauga in North Carolina; and Greene, Hawkins, Sullivan, and Washington, in Tennessee). Watauga County (Boone/Blowing Rock), North Carolina had the greatest percentage growth of any county in the sub-region, chalking up a 33.5% increase in population.

The area continued to grow during the early part of the 1970's. The latest U.S. Census estimates show a 7.5% increase in population during the period of 1970–1975. According to these recent estimates the population of the entire area now stands at 850,700. During this five-year period only one of the twenty-two counties (Grayson, in Virginia) is estimated to have declined in population. The North Carolina portion showed the greatest growth rate (9.3%) followed by the counties in Tennessee (7.1%) and Virginia (4.2%). Watauga County, North Carolina remained the fastest growing political subdivision, increasing its 1970 population by about one-fourth (23.1%).

The more urbanized counties have the greatest population density. Five counties had a population density of over 100 persons per square mile in 1970 (Burke and Caldwell, in North Carolina; and Sullivan, Carter, and Washington, in Tennessee). The sub-region as a whole had a population density of 89.6 inhabitants per square mile. This may be compared with the 1970 national average of 57.5 per square mile.

URBAN CENTERS

There are no very large cities in the sub-region. No city has yet reached the 50,000 population level. Several larger urban centers are to be found beyond the fringes (Knoxville, Tennessee, 180,000; Roanoke, Virginia, 100,000; Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 130,000; Charlotte, North Carolina, 320,000). These cities provide some services for the sub-region. The largest city in 1973 was the Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee complex with a combined population of 45,367 (24,930 in Tennessee and 20,437 in Virginia). The Bristol area was followed closely by Johnson City, Tennessee (39,823) and Kingsport, Tennessee (31,640). It should be noted that, because of their geographic proximity and economic interrelatedness, these three cities plus seven counties (Carter, Hawkins, Sullivan, Unicoi, and Washington, in Tennessee; and Scott and Washington, in Virginia) have been designated a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) by the Office of Management and Budget in Washington. In 1975 the "Tri-Cities" SMSA counted 398,000 inhabitants.

Other urban areas are small, ranging from 2500 to 15,000 in population. 239,279 people in the sub-region lived in towns and cities of more than 2500 in population. This figure represents about 30% of the population. It is well below the national urban population percentage of 73.5 and is below the individual state levels of urbanization (45% in North Carolina, 59% in Tennessee, and 63% in Virginia).

RACIAL AND ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS

The sub-region is racially overwhelmingly white. The entire area counted only 26,750 non-whites in 1970. No county had a non-white population greater than 7.8% of the total. Six counties had 1% or less of their populations counted as non-white. These percentages were below the national non-white 12 percentage. The percentage of the total non-white population was below that of the three states (23% in North Carolina, 16% in Tennessee, and 19% in Virginia).

The makeup of the non-white population in 1970 was essentially black, 25,801, or 96%. There were only 340 individuals listed as Native Americans, (American Indians) and 314 Asian Americans of Chinese or Japanese extraction. The area also had very few foreign born persons. No county in the sub-region had more than .5% of its total population listed as foreign born or first generation American.

The sub-region also showed a small "out-of-state-by-birth" population, as most of the people living in these counties are native to their particular state. Seven counties had more than 90% of their population native to their state. Nine of the counties fell into the 80–89% bracket. Sullivan County, Tennessee (Bristol and Kingsport) had the smallest percentage of native born persons (61%). The more urban character of this county likely accounts for this lower figure. The fact of a three-state sub-region does not seem to have affected native state population counts very much. Many counties which lie on state lines have the higher percentages of native populations. These higher native figures tend to indicate little intra-regional movement of population.

RELIGION

Data concerning the religious preferences of people is limited. The federal census does not request such information. Those who attempt to show the religious preferences of people in an area usually utilize data provided by the various religious faiths. This method is by no means flawless, as the manner in which religious affiliation is reported varies from group to group.

However, it is suggested, according to these sources, that the people of this sub-region show a preference for the Baptist and Methodist Churches. With only a few exceptions, 50% or more of the people in the counties are members of Baptist churches. Methodism appeared to be somewhat stronger in Greene County and Washington County, Tennessee and Smyth County, Virginia. Baptist membership was also less pervasive in Johnson County, Tennessee and Washington County, Virginia. Generally, the domination by Baptist and Methodist churches further contributes to the mono-cultural nature of the area.

AGE AND FAMILY SIZE

If any generalization can be made about the age of the people in this sub-region it is that the population appears to be older than the three states at large, the South in general, or the nation. Two counties (Caldwell and Watauga, North Carolina) show median age levels below the median figure of the South (27.3 years); still only four counties were under the national median age figure of 28.1 years. Nine of the twenty-two counties had median age figures in the low thirties.

The percentage of adults over 65 years of age ran from a low of 8.4% in Alexander County, North Carolina to a high of 14.2% in Alleghany County, North Carolina. It appears that on the whole, the sub-region has suffered some out-migration of its younger people. This would seem particularly true of the more rural parts as they are the ones with greater percentages of population over 65 years of age.

The household size in the sub-region was close to that of the nation (3.2 persons per household) and the South (3.26 persons per household). One half of the sub-region's counties exceeds the national figure. The largest family household size is 3.35 persons in Caldwell County, North Carolina.

EDUCATION LEVELS

In 1970, 92.7% of children ages 14–17 were in school in the United States. For the South, the figure was 89.8% On the basis of the figures available for the region, it appears that the holding power of the school in this mid-South part of Appalachia is less than that of the nation or the South. Only four counties in the area reported 90% or more of their 14–17 year-old persons in school. Three counties reported less than 80% (actual range, 76–80%).

The median number of years of schooling in the region ranged from 8.1 years in Scott County, Virginia to 11.3 years in Sullivan County, Tennessee. Most counties fell into the eight- and nine-years-of-schooling range. Remembering that the median means the point where half the population falls above a figure and half below, it is apparent that in many parts of this area, half the population (defined as 26 years or older) had less than eight years of formal education. In no county did at least half the adult population have a high school education.

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

A survey of employment in the twenty-two counties revealed that anywhere from 22–62% of the area workforce was employed in manufacturing. Overall, the sub-region had a greater percentage employed in manufacturing than did the nation (26%) or the South (23%). A breakdown of figures of employment found the largest manufacturing activities to be the production of textiles, furniture, and processed foods. Other areas of lesser manufacturing employment included electrical equipment, chemicals, metals, non-durable items, and transportation equipment. The Tennessee portion of the sub-region showed a much greater diversification of industry, relying less on textiles and furniture.

White collar employment ran from 20%–40% (of the total workforce) in the sub-region. This is below the figures for the nation and the South (more than 40%). Sullivan County and Washington County, Tennessee had the highest percentage of white-collar workers (42.7%). This figure tends to reflect the service nature of the Tri-Cities metropolitan area.

Agricultural employment levels varied among the counties and reflected the decline in the role agriculture plays in the economy of the sub-region. In only five counties did agriculture account for more than 10% of the workforce (Alleghany, Ashe, and Yancey Counties, in North Carolina; and Greene and Johnson Counties, in Tennessee).

Government workers as part of the workforce varied from a low of 5.7% in Alexander County, North Carolina to a high 25.5% in Watauga County, North Carolina (seat of Appalachian State University, a major employer). Most parts of the region found only 10–16% of their workforce in the public sector.

FAMILY INCOME

Family incomes in the sub-region were generally below the median levels for the United States ($9590) and the South ($8079). No county in the area exceeded the national median, but two surpassed the median level of income for the South (Burke County, North Carolina and Sullivan County, Tennessee).

Reflecting the lower median family incomes in the sub-region were the higher percentages of families found to be below the established poverty level. The percentage range was between 10 and 30.3. Six counties had about one of every five families living in poverty. Four counties counted one of every five families living below the national poverty level. These figures can be compared with the national figure of approximately one of every ten American families below poverty level.

At the upper end of the income level only two counties had more than 10% of their families with incomes exceeding $15,000 per year. These were Sullivan County (12.9%) and Washington County (11.3%), both in Tennessee. Both Sullivan and Washington counties are centers of white-collar employment in the sub-region, highly urbanized in character, and oriented toward service, financial, retail, and wholesale employment.

QUALITY OF HOUSING

In 1970 anywhere from 37% to 76% of the homes in these counties were owner occupied. This compares with a national homeowner's rate of 64.2%. Only three counties failed to exceed the national level of home ownership. In short, the sub-region is a place where a majority of the families own their own homes.

The quality of the area housing has need for improvement. One measuring device is the presence of plumbing facilities (i.e., running water, indoor bathrooms, hot water, and the like). In 1970, 95% of all occupied housing units in the United States contained adequate plumbing. Only Sullivan County, Tennessee (90%) and Bristol City, Virginia (95%) either approached or equalled the national figure. One county (Grayson in Virginia) had only 31% of its occupied housing units fully equipped with all plumbing facilities. Two other counties (Johnson, in Tennessee; and Scott, in Virginia) had about 50% of its housing with total plumbing. The remainder of the sub-region had between 10% and 30% of its housing units lacking some or all plumbing facilities.

Using plumbing as one measuring device, one can assume that there is a problem with the quality of housing in the twenty-two county sub-region.

SUMMARY

What can be said about this part of Southern Appalachia? The sub-region is growing, indicating that some positive things must be happening. While much of this growth has been in and around the Tri-Cities SMSA and other smaller communities, all of this growth has not been exclusively urban.

The sub-region continues to be essentially mono-cultural. Whites native to the region dominate the population. The area is overwhelmingly Protestant, with Baptists of various sub-denominations predominating. The implications of this kind of cultural setting for educational agencies dealing with problems of human relationships may be profound. The importance of the school in relating national multiculturalism is very apparent in the light of the few multi-cultural experiences young people are likely to have in their communities.

The sub-region lags behind the nation in educational levels, particularly among adults. This may indicate a problem in up-grading the skills and work potential of the population. Industries which are somewhat labor intensive but do not require high level skills (i.e. textiles) dominate and reflect lower educational levels. This kind of industry probably also tends to reinforce attitudes that learning beyond the fundamentals is not really necessary.

Incomes lagging behind the national level, lower educational levels, less demanding job opportunities—all, no doubt, contribute vitally to the prevalance of the poverty level in the area. The quality of housing, along with these mentioned deterrents, also tends to be a reflection of income, education, and occupation outside the urban areas.

This twenty-two county sub-region of Southern Appalachia is growing and there appears to be some movement towards diversification of opportunities. If the people make wise choices about the future, much can be realized in the development of the area's resources.

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this study in some cases figures for Galax City were combined with those for Grayson County, Virginia. Bristol City was also combined with Washington County, Virginia. Virginia is one of the states which has some cities independent of counties. The U.S. Census Bureau in reporting information does not combine independent cities with surrounding counties.

2. The figures used in this survey come from the 1970 U.S. Census reports with the exception of 1973 population estimates. The 1973 population estimates were provided by the U.S. Census Bureau. Church affiliation of the subregion's population is drawn from Edwin S. Gaustad's *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

DATA SHEET FOR THE TWENTY-TWO COUNTY SUB-REGION

Political Unit	1970 Population	% Change 1960–70	Population per Square Mile	Land Area in Square Miles	1975 Population (Estimated)	Number Increase or Decrease	% Change 1970–75
North Carolina	5,082,059	11.5	104.1	48,798	5,451,000	368,941	7.2
Alexander Co.	19,466	24.6	75.1	259	21,800	2,334	11.9
Alleghany Co.	8,134	5.2	36.2	225	8,700	566	6.9
Ashe Co.	19,571	−1.0	45.9	426	20,100	529	2.7
Avery Co.	12,655	5.4	51.7	245	14,100	1,445	11.4
Burke Co.	60,364	14.5	118.1	511	64,700	4,336	7.2
Caldwell Co.	56,699	14.4	120.9	469	60,700	4,001	7.0
McDowell Co.	30,648	14.6	70.3	436	33,800	3,152	10.2
Mitchell Co.	13,447	−3.3	62.5	215	14,100	653	4.8
Watauga Co.	23,404	33.5	73.8	317	28,800	5,396	23.1
Wilkes Co.	49,524	9.4	65.4	757	54,300	4,776	9.6
Yancey Co.	12,629	−9.8	40.5	312	13,900	1,271	10.1
Tennessee	3,923,687	10.0	94.3	41,328	4,188,000	264,313	6.7
Carter Co.	42,575	2.4	122.3	348	45,900	3,325	7.8
Greene Co.	47,630	13.0	77.7	613	49,900	2,270	4.8
Hawkins Co.	33,726	10.7	70.3	480	37,300	3,574	10.6
Johnson Co.	11,569	7.5	39.5	293	12,800	1,231	10.6
Sullivan Co.	127,329	11.6	308.3	413	134,500	7,171	5.6
Unicoi	15,254	1.1	82.5	185	15,600	271	1.8
Washington Co.	73,924	14.0	228.9	323	81,000	7,076	9.6
Virginia	4,648,494	17.2	116.9	39,780	4,966,000	317,506	6.8
Grayson Co. & Galax City	21,717		47.3	459	21,000	−17	0.0
Scott Co.	24,376	−5.6	45.2	539	32,400	524	2.1
Smyth Co.	31,349	0.9	72.1	435	32,400	1,051	3.3
Washington Co. & Bristol City	55,692		96.4	578	59,700	4,008	7.2
22 County Region	791,682		89.6	8,838	850,700	59,018	7.5

Political Unit	Major Industrial Employers	Education % of 14–17 Year Olds in School	Median Years of Schooling	Income Levels—Families		
				Median Family Income	% Below Poverty Level	% Incomes Over $15,000
North Carolina		89	10.6	$7,774	16.3	11.5
Alexander Co.	Furniture/Textiles	77	9.1	7,885	11.8	7.5
Alleghany Co.	Textiles/Durables	93	8.9	5,644	26.0	4.5
Ashe Co.	Furniture/Elec. Equip.	91	8.7	5,241	27.8	3.9
Avery Co.	Textiles/Furniture	85	9.3	5,526	28.9	5.0
Burke Co.	Textiles/Furniture	86	9.9	8,441	10.0	9.0
Caldwell Co.	Textiles/Furniture	83	9.7	7,955	11.9	7.8
McDowell Co.	Textiles/Furniture	80	9.4	7,281	15.0	5.1
Mitchell Co.	Textiles/Furniture	76	9.0	5,307	28.1	5.4
Watauga Co	Textiles/Elec. Equip.	91	10.1	6,149	22.2	7.3
Wilkes Co.	Textiles/Furniture	89	9.0	6,564	20.1	6.4
Yancey Co.	Textiles/Furniture	89	8.7	5,318	30.3	1.9
Tennessee		88	10.6	7,447	18.2	11.6
Carter Co.	Chemicals/Textiles	83	9.8	6,195	19.7	5.5
Greene Co.	Elec. Equip/Metals	78	9.3	6,182	21.1	4.9
Hawkins Co	Chemicals/Printing	86	8.8	6,300	23.8	4.3
Johnson Co.	Textiles/Non-durables	83	8.6	4,986	30.1	2.7
Sullivan Co.	Chemicals/Non-durables	88	11.3	8,372	13.2	12.9
Unicoi Co.	Transportation Equip.	87	9.2	6,487	19.8	6.1
Washington Co.	Textiles/Chemicals	83	10.8	7,259	16.8	11.3
Virginia		91	11.7	9,049	12.3	19.8
Grayson Co.	Textiles/Furniture	82	8.4	5,902	19.8	3.1
Galax City	Textiles/Furniture	77	9.3	7,692	12.4	9.8
Scott Co.	Chemicals/Textiles	85	8.1	5,954	26.9	4.4
Smyth Co.	Textiles/Furniture	84	9.1	7,048	14.8	7.4
Washington Co.	Textiles/Food Proc.	90	9.3	6,355	19.6	7.2
Bristol City	Textiles/Food Proc.	94	10.6	6,969	19.5	10.1

Largest Incorporated Cities in the Sub-Region—1973

(Population Estimates: U.S. Census Bureau)

Johnson City, Tennessee	**39,823**	**Greeneville, Tennessee**	**13,545**
Kingsport, Tennessee	**31,640**	**Elizabethton, Tennessee**	**12,511**
Bristol, Tennessee	**24,930**	**Boone, North Carolina**	**10,649**
Bristol, Virginia	**20,437**	**Marion, Virginia**	**8,422**
Lenoir, North Carolina	**14,844**	**Galax, Virginia**	**6,277**
Morganton, North Carolina	**14,320**	**Abingdon, Virginia**	**4,762**

Political Unit	% of Population Native to State	% Foreign Born	Median Age	% Under 18	% Over 65	Size Family	Workforce Distribution by Occupation (Percentage)			
							Manuf.	White Collar	Govt.	Agri-culture
North Carolina	79	0.6	26.5	34.6	8.1	3.24	35.5	38.6	13.2	—
Alexander Co.	92	0.1	27.4	35.0	8.4	3.33	61.5	20.0	5.7	4.1
Alleghany Co.	85	0.0	33.3	30.5	14.2	3.01	42.0	23.4	13.1	10.5
Ashe Co.	90	0.0	30.8	33.1	12.1	3.24	46.4	21.9	10.1	11.8
Avery Co.	83	0.0	27.3	32.2	9.9	3.26	31.7	25.8	15.5	6.2
Burke Co.	88	0.3	28.4	33.9	8.0	3.19	56.7	28.2	12.9	1.3
Caldwell Co.	90	0.1	26.3	36.6	6.9	3.35	60.0	28.1	7.4	1.3
McDowell Co.	89	0.1	29.2	34.3	9.3	3.23	62.4	26.2	8.4	1.2
Mitchell Co.	92	0.0	32.9	31.4	12.6	3.16	41.2	31.8	12.2	5.0
Watauga Co.	81	0.2	23.8	26.1	8.5	3.03	22.3	39.1	25.5	7.2
Wilkes Co.	90	0.3	28.1	34.4	8.8	3.29	46.6	28.2	8.2	7.1
Yancey Co.	92	0.2	31.5	32.1	11.8	3.22	43.2	22.5	12.4	10.5
Tennessee	74	0.5	28.1	33.8	9.8	3.51	30.6	41.5	16.1	—
Carter Co.	78	0.3	29.5	31.6	9.5	3.14	42.0	35.8	15.7	2.0
Greene Co.	86	0.3	29.2	32.5	9.0	3.13	37.9	32.1	11.5	11.9
Hawkins Co.	86	0.0	28.7	34.2	9.2	3.29	42.9	26.4	13.6	7.9
Johnson Co.	72	0.0	30.5	32.3	11.7	3.16	47.9	20.8	12.1	11.0
Sullivan Co.	61	0.3	28.8	33.2	7.8	3.15	41.6	42.7	11.9	2.7
Unicoi Co.	91	0.1	30.8	32.9	11.1	3.13	42.0	30.2	11.6	6.4
Washington Co.	72	0.4	28.8	30.6	10.4	3.12	30.5	42.5	17.6	4.1
Virginia	64	1.6	26.8	34.2	7.9	3.20	22.4	49.0	23.7	—
Grayson Co.	84	0.2	33.1	30.9	12.5	3.11	55.5	19.6	9.7	5.5
Galax City	78	0.0	33.4	29.9	11.7	2.91	54.2	32.8	7.5	—
Scott Co.	89	0.2	—	32.1	11.1	3.28	37.7	26.7	14.6	8.6
Smyth Co.	84	0.3	31.1	32.2	10.3	3.28	44.8	30.7	16.5	6.1
Washington Co.	82	0.1	29.2	33.0	10.1	3.22	30.3	35.6	15.5	5.9
Bristol City	63	0.7	31.5	28.9	12.6	2.90	30.7	44.6	9.5	

Political Unit	% of Population Non-white	Number of Blacks	Number of Indians	Number of Japanese Chinese	Other Non-whites	Total Non-whites	Persons of Spanish Language
North Carolina	23.2	1,126,478	44,406	4,264	5,144	1,180,292	22,611
Alexander Co.	7.8	1,440	11	32	34	1,517	0
Alleghany Co.	3.0	236	0	2	3	241	0
Ashe Co.	1.1	205	7	5	8	225	32
Avery Co.	0.8	87	5	8	4	99	22
Burke Co.	7.3	4,324	36	21	27	4,408	14
Caldwell Co.	6.4	3,574	36	14	11	3,635	73
McDowell Co.	5.3	1,602	9	5	4	1,620	5
Mitchell Co.	0.3	26	7	7	2	42	18
Watauga Co.	1.1	225	2	8	26	261	59
Wilkes Co.	5.2	2,534	19	16	15	2,584	106
Yancey Co.	1.4	166	12	0	2	180	0
Tennessee	16.1	621,361	2,276	3,616	2,604	629,857	12,190
Carter Co.	1.0	382	22	14	1	419	13
Greene Co.	2.5	1,137	21	23	9	1,190	136
Hawkins Co.	3.1	992	10	15	14	1,031	26
Johnson Co.	1.0	104	0	6	1	111	5
Sullivan Co.	2.1	2,432	64	63	56	2,615	319
Unicoi Co.	0.1	7	6	2	5	20	105
Washington Co.	4.0	2,833	41	38	46	2,958	183
Virginia	19.1	861,980	4,853	13,801	6,958	887,592	42,673
Grayson Co. & Galax City	4.2	917	7	2	1	927	200
Scott Co.	0.9	211	2	5	1	219	0
Smyth Co.	1.8	546	11	10	0	567	100
Washington Co. & Bristol City	3.3	1,821	12	23	25	1,881	106
22 County Region	3.4	25,801	340	314	295	26,750	1,522

5 THE DIALECT OF THE APPALACHIAN PEOPLE

WYLENE P. DIAL

The language of southern Appalachia is a national source of identification. Wylene Dial examines the British origins of many words and phrases used today by mountain people. The author of this selection is associated with the University of West Virginia.

The dialect spoken by Appalachian people has been given a variety of names ranging all the way from "pure Chaucerian" to "debased and ignorant." The more opprobrious the term, the more likely it is to have come from some earnest soul from outside the area who knows considerably less about the English language than he thinks he does.

Instead of calling the folk speech of the region corrupt, it ought to be classified as archaic. Many expressions current in Appalachia today can be found in the writings of English authors of other centuries, beginning with Anglo-Saxon times.

Most editors who work with older materials have long assumed the role of officious busybodies: never so happy, apparently, as when engaged in tidying up spelling, modernizing grammar, and generally rendering whatever was written by various Britons in ages past into a colorless conformity with today's Standard English.

To this single characteristic of the editorial mind must be ascribed the almost total lack of knowledge on the part of most Americans that the language they speak was ever any different than it is right now. How many people know, for example, that when the poet Gray composed his famous "Elegy" his title for it was "An Elegy *Wrote* in a Country Churchyard"?

Southern Mountain dialect (as the Appalachian folk speech is called by linguists) is certainly archiac, but the general historical period it represents can be narrowed down to the days of the first Queen Elizabeth and can be further particularized by saying that what is heard today is actually a sort of Scottish flavored Elizabethan English. This is not to say that Chaucerian forms will not be heard in everyday use and even an occasional Anglo-Saxon one as well.

When we remember that the first European settlers in what is today Appalachia were the so-called Scotch-Irish along with Germans (chiefly from the Palatinate) there is small wonder that the language has a

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Scottish tinge; the remarkable thing is that, except in areas where they settled thickly—the Pennsylvania "Dutch" (Deutsch) country, for instance—the Germans appear to have influenced it so little. Expressions such as *"Hit wonders me* how they manage to get along," and words like *schmearcase* (cottage cheese) occur in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and are found in parts of Appalachia too. So are *briggity* and *wamus* (a haevy woolen jacket), but some authorities attribute these last two words to the Dutch rather than to the Germans, and there are very few others in general use to add to the list.

The Scots, on the other hand, appear to have had it all their own way, linguistically speaking. When I first came to Lincoln County, West Virginia, as a bride, it used to seem to me that everything that didn't *pooch out, hooved up. Pooch* is a Scottish variant of the word *pouch* that was in use in the 1600's. Numerous objects can pooch out, including pregnant women and gentlemen with bay windows. *Hoove* is a very old past participle of the verb *to heave* and was apparently in use on both sides of the border by 1601. The top of an old-fashioned trunk may be said to hoove up. Another word heard in the back country is *ingerns. Ingerns* are onions. In Scots dialect the word is *inguns;* however, if our people are permitted the intrusive *r* in *potaters, tomaters, tobaccer*, and so on, there seems to be no reason why they should not use it in *ingerns* as well.

It is possible to compile a long list of these Scots words and phrases. I will give only a few more for illustration and will wait to mention some points on Scottish pronunciation and grammar a little further on.

Fornenst is a word that has many variants. It generally means "next to" as in "Look at that rattler quiled up *fornenst* the fence post!" but I have also heard it used to mean "opposite to." (*Quiled* is an Elizabethan pronunciation of *coiled.*) "I was getting better but now I've done took a *backset* from the flu." "When I woke up this morning, there was a litlte *skift* of snow on the ground." "He dropped the dish and busted it all to *flinders.*" "Law, I hope *how soon* we get some rain!" (*How soon* is supposed to be obsolete, but it enjoys excellent health in Lincoln County.) "That trifling old *fixin* ain't worth a *haet!*" *Haet* means the smallest thing that can be conceived and comes from *Deil hae't* (Devil hate it). *Fixin* is the Old English or Anglo-Saxon word for *she-fox* as used in the northern dialect. In the south of England you would have heard *vixen*, the word used today in Standard English.

It is interesting to note that, until recently, it has been primarily the linguistic historians who have pointed out the predominately Scottish heritage of the Southern Mountain people. Perhaps I may be allowed to digress for a moment to trace these people back to their beginnings.

Early in his English reign, James I decided to try to control the Irish by putting a Protestant population into Ireland. To do this he confiscated the lands of the earls of Ulster and bestowed them upon Scottish and English lords on the condition that they settle the territory with tenants from Scotland and England. This was known as the "Great Settlement," or the "King's Plantation," and was begun in 1610.

Most of the Scots who moved into Ulster came from the lowlands[1] and thus they would have spoken the Scots variety of the Northumbrian or Northern English dialect. (Most highland Scots at that time still spoke Gaelic.)

While in Ulster the Scots multiplied, but after roughly 100 years they became dissatisfied with the unreasonable trade and religious restrictions imposed by England, and numbers of them began emigrating to the English colonies in America. The first wave came into New England, but thereafter many of these Scots who now called themselves the "Scotch-Irish" came into Pennsylvania where, finding the better lands already settled by the English, they began to move south and west. "Their enterprise and pioneering spirit made them the most important element in the vigorous frontiersmen who opened up this part of the South and later other territories farther West into which they pushed."[2]

Besides the Scots who arrived from Ireland, more came directly from Scotland to America, particularly after "the '45," the final Jacobite uprising in support of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" the Young Pretender, which ended disastrously for the Scottish clans that supported him. By the time of the American Revolution there were about 200,000 Scots in this country.

But to get back to the dialect, let me quote two more linguistic authorities to prove my point about the Scottish influence on the local speech. Raven I. McDavid notes, "The speech of the hill people is quite different from both dialects of the Southern lowlands for it is basically derived from the Scotch-Irish of western Pennsylvania."[3] H. L. Mencken said of Appalachian folk speech, "The persons who speak it undiluted are often called by the southern publicists 'the purest Anglo-Saxons in the United States,' but less romantic ethnologists describe them as predominately Celtic in blood, though there has been a large infiltration of English and even German strains."[4]

The reason our people still speak as they do is that when these early Scots and English and Germans (and some Irish and Welsh, too) came into the Appalachian area and settled, they virtually isolated themselves from the mainstream of American life for generations to come because of the hills and mountains, and so they kept the old speech forms that have long since fallen out of fashion elsewhere.

Things in our area are not always what they seem, linguistically speaking. Someone may tell you that "Almety ain't got sense enough to come in outen the rain, but she sure is *clever.*" *Clever,* you see, back in the 1600's meant "neighborly or accommodating." Also, if you ask someone how he is, and he replies that he is *"very well,"* you are not necessarily to rejoice with him on the state of his health. Our people are accustomed to using a speech so vividly colorful and virile that his *"very well"* only means that he is feeling *"so-so."* If you are informed that *"several"* people came to a meeting, your informant does not mean what you do by *several*—he is using it in its older sense of anywhere from about 20 to 100 people. If you hear a person or an animal referred to as *ill,* that person or animal is not sick but bad tempered, and this adjective has been so used since the 1300's. (Incidentally, good English used *sick* to refer to bad health long, long before our forebearers ever started saying *ill* for the same connotation.)

Many of our people refer to sour milk as *blinked* milk. This usage goes back at least to the early 1600's when people still believed in witches and the power of the evil eye. One of the meanings of the word *blink* back in those days was "to glance at"; if you glanced at something, you *blinked* at it, and thus sour milk came to be called *blinked* due to the evil machinations of the witch. There is another phrase that occurs from time to time, "Man, did he ever *feather into him*!" This used to carry a fairly murderous connotation, having gotten its start back in the days when the English long bow was the ultimate word in destructive power. Back then if you drew your bow with sufficient strength to cause your arrow to penetrate your enemy up to the feathers on its shaft, you had *feathered into him.* Nowadays, the expression has weakened in meaning until it merely indicates a bit of fisticuffs.

One of the most baffling expressions our people use (baffling to "Furriners," at least) is, *"I don't care to . . ."* To outlanders this seems to mean a definite "no," whereas in truth it actually means, "Thank you so much; I'd love to." One is forevermore hearing a tale of mutual bewilderment in which a gentleman driving an out-of-state car sees a young fellow standing alongside the road thumbing. When the gentleman stops and asks if he wants a lift, the boy very properly replies, "I don't *keer* to," using *care* in the Elizabethan sense of the word. On hearing this, the man drives off considerably puzzled leaving an equally baffled young man behind. (Even the word *foreigner* itself is used here in its Elizabethan sense of someone who is the same nationality as the speaker, but not from the speaker's immediate home area.)

Reverend is generally used to address preachers, but it is a pretty versatile word, and full-strength whiskey, or even the full-strength scent of a skunk, are also called *reverend.* In these latter instances, its meaning has nothing to do with reverence, but with the fact that their strength is as the strength of ten because they are undiluted.

In the dialect, the word *allow* more often means "think, say, or suppose" than "permit." "He *'lowed* he'd git it done tomorrow."

A neighbor may take you into her confidence and announce that she has heard that preacher's daughter *should have been* running after the mailman. These are deep waters to the uninitiated. What she really means is that she has heard a juicy bit of gossip: the preacher's daughter is chasing the local mail carrier. However, she takes the precaution of using the phrase *should have been* to show that this statement is not vouched for by the speaker. This same phrase is used in the same way in the Paston Letters in the 1400's and also occurs in the dialect of the Pennsylvania "Dutch."

Almost all the so-called "bad English" used by natives of Appalachia was once employed by the highest ranking nobles of the realms of England and Scotland.

Few humans are really passionately interested in grammar so I'll skim as lightly over this section as possible, but let's consider the following bit of dialogue briefly: "I've been *a-studying* about how to say this, till I've *nigh wearried* myself to death. I *reckon hit* don't never do nobody no good to beat about the bush, so I'll just tell *ye*. Your man's *hippoed*. There's nothing ails him, but he spends more time *using* around the doctor's office than he does *a-working*."

The only criticism that even a linguistic purist might offer here is that, in the eighteenth century, *hippoed* was considered by some, Jonathan Swift, among others, to be slangy even though it was used by the English society of the day. (To say someone is *hippoed* is to say he is hypochondriac.)

Words like *a-studying* and *a-working* are verbal nouns and go back to Anglo-Saxon times; and from the 1300's on, people who *studied* about something, deliberated or reflected on it. *Nigh* is the older word for *near*, and *weary* was the pronunciation of *worry* in the 1300 and 1400's. The Scots also used this pronunciation. *Reckon* was current in Tudor England in the sense of *consider* or *suppose*. *Hit* is the Old English third person singular neuter pronoun for *it* and has come ringing down through the centuries for over a thousand years. All those multiple negatives were perfectly proper until some English mathematician in the eighteenth century decided that two negatives make a positive instead of simply intensifying the negative quality of some statement. Shakespeare loved to use them. *Ye* was once used accusatively, and *man* has been employed since early times to mean *husband*. And, finally, *to use* means to frequent or loiter.

Certain grammatical forms occurring in the dialect have caused it to be regarded with pious horror by school marms. Prominent among the offenders, they would be almost sure to list these: "Bring *them* books over here." In the 1500's this was good English. "I found three bird's *nestes* on the way to school." This disyllabic ending for the plural goes back to the Middle Ages. "That pencil's not mine; it's *her'n*." Possessive forms like *his'n, our'n,* and *your'n* evolved in the Middle Ages on the model of *mine* and *thine*. In the revision of the Wycliffe Bible, which appeared shortly after 1380, we find phrases such as ". . . restore to hir alle things that ben *hern,*" and "some of *our'n* went in to the grave." "*He don't* scare me none." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *do* was used with *he, she,* and *it. Don't* is simply *do not,* of course. "*You wasn't* scared, *was you*?" During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many people were careful to distinguish between singular *you was* and plural *you were*. It became unfashionable in the early nineteenth century although Noah Webster stoutly defended it. "My brother *come* in from the army last night." This usage goes back to late Anglo-Saxon times. You find it in the Paston Letters and in Scottish poetry. "I *done finished* my lessons," also has many echoes in the Pastons' correspondence and the Scots poets. From the late Middle Ages on up the Northern dialect of English used formations like this: "*guiltless persons is condemned,*" and so do our people. And, finally, in times past, participial forms like these abounded: *has beat, has bore with it, has chose*. Preterite forms were varied: *blowed, growed, catched,* and for *climbed* you can find *clum, clome, clim,* all of which are locally used.

Pronunciation of many words has changed considerably, too. *Deef* for *deaf, arn* for *iron, heered* for *heard, afeared* for *afraid, cowcumber* for *cucumber, bammy* for *balmy, holp* for *helped, yaller* for *yellow,* and *cheer* for *chair* are a very few. Several distinct characteristics of the language of Elizabeth's day are still preserved. Words that had *oi* in them were given a long *i* pronunciation: *pizen, jine, bile, pint,* and so on. Words with *er* were frequently pronounced as if the letters were *ar*: *sarvice, sartin, narvous*. It is from this time that we get our pronunciation of *sergeant* and the word *varsity* which is a clipping of the word *university* given the *ar* sound. Another Elizabethan characteristic was the substitution of an *i* sound for an *e* sound. You hear this tendency today when people say *miny, kittle, chist, git,* and so on. It has caused such confusion with the words *pen* and *pin* (which our people pronounce alike as *pin*) that they are regularly accompanied by a qualifying word—*stick pin* for the pin and *ink pin* for the pen.

You can hear many characteristic Scottish pronunciations, *Whar, thar,* and *dar* (*where, there,* and *dare*] are typical. So also are *poosh, boosh, eetch, deesh, feesh* (*push, bush, itch, dish,* and *fish*).

So if you were told as I was in my youth, "No dear, it doesn't rhyme; the writer was just taking poetic license," you may see that it might once have rhymed after all.

One of the accusations frequently leveled at speakers of Southern Mountain dialect is that they use "outlandish, made-up words," and we should consider a few of these: "I'm going to *redd up* the kitchen." This word, used in the sense of "to set in order," goes back to Anglo-Saxon times and was still being used in the sixteenth century by the Scots according to the OED. If you are "bee-stung" in my part of the country, someone will be sure to commiserate with you on your *whelks* (and this word goes back at least to Chaucer). If a neighbor tells you, "I got so mad I wanted to pick up a board and *warp* (worp) him along-side the head," he is using another word that goes back to Anglo-Saxon days. When your friend catches "a whole *slue* of fish," he is using a word current in Elizabeth's day, and he may tell you "there was a *sight* of folks at the baptizing" using another very old word to indicate a large number.

Two words that I hear in my state and parts of Virginia that are both supposed to be obsolete according to some lexicographers (although both are listed in Webster's 3rd) are *airish,* "I reckon we better git on into the house, it's right *airish* (chilly or breezy) out;" and *mizzling,* a word used to describe a misty day that has a very fine drizzle of rain falling.

In some ways this vintage English reflects the outlook and spirit of the people who speak it; and we find that not only is the language Elizabethan, but that some of the ways these people look at things are Elizabethan too. Numbers of our people plant by the "signs" (the stars) and conduct other activities according to the signs. Many other superstitions still exist here. In some homes, when a death occurs all the mirrors and pictures are turned to the wall. Now, I don't know if today the people still know why they do this, or if they just go through the actions because it's the thing to do, but this belief goes far back into history. It was once thought that the mirror reflected the soul of the person looking into it, and if the soul of the dead person saw the soul of one of his beloved relatives reflected in the mirror, he might take it with him, so his relatives were taking no chances.

The belief that if a bird accidentally flies into a house, a member of the household will die, is also very old and is still current in the region. Cedar trees are in a good deal of disfavor in Lincoln County, and the reason seems to stem from the conviction held by a number of people that if someone plants a cedar, he will die when it grows large enough to shade his coffin.

Aside from its antiquity, the most outstanding feature of the dialect is its masculine flavor—robust and virile. This is a language spoken by a red-blooded people who have colorful phraseology born in their bones. They tend to call a spade a spade in no uncertain terms. "No, the baby didn't come early, the weddin' came late," remarked one proud grandpa. Such people have small patience with the pallid descriptive limitations of standard English. They are not about to be put off with the rather insipid remark, "My, it's hot!" or "Isn't it cold out today?" They want to know just how hot or cold: "It's hotter 'n the hinges of hell," or "Hit's blue cold out thar!" Other common descriptive phrases for cold are (freely) translated, '"It's colder 'n a witch's bosom," or "It's colder 'n a well-digger's backside."

Speakers of Southern Mountain dialect are past masters of the art of coining vivid descriptions. Their everyday conversation is liberally sprinkled with such gems as: "That man is so contrary, if you throwed him in a river he'd float upstream!" "She walks so slow they have to set stakes to see if she's a-movin.'!" "That lad's an awkward size—too big for a man and not big enough for a horse." "Zake, he come bustin' outten thar and hit it for the road quick as double-geared lightnin' a-mentionin' hell-fire at ever-breath!" "That pore boy's a so cross-eyed he could stand in the middle of the week and see both Sundays!"

Nudity is frowned upon in Appalachia, but for some reason there are numerous "nekkid as . . ." phrases. Any casual sampling would probably contain these three: "Nekkid as a jaybird," "bare-nekkid as a hound dog's rump," and "*start-nekkid.*" *Start nekkid* comes directly from the Anglo-Saxons, so it's been around for more than a thousand years. Originally "*start*" was *steort* which meant "tail." Hence, if you were *start-nekkid* you were *nekkid to the tail.* A similar phrase, *stark-naked* is a Johnny-come-lately, not even appearing in print until around 1530.

If a lady tends to be gossipy, her friends may say that "her tongue's a mile long," or else that it "wags at both ends." Such ladies are a great trial to young dating couples. Incidentally, there is a formal terminology to indicate exactly how serious the intentions of these couples are, ranging from *sparking* which is simply dating, to *courting* which is dating with a more serious intent, on up to *talking* which means the couple is seriously contemplating matrimony. Shakespeare uses *talking* in this sense in *King Lear.*

If a man has imbibed too much of who-shot-John, his neighbor may describe him as "so drunk he couldn't hit the ground with his hat," or, as Vance Randolph tells us, on the morning-after, the sufferer may admit that "I was so dang dizzy I had to hold on to the grass afore I could lean ag'in the ground." The farmer who was having a lot of trouble with a weasel killing his chickens complained, "He jest grabs 'em afore they can git word to God."

Someone who has a disheveled or bedraggled appearance may be described in any one of several ways: "You look like you've been chewed up and spit out," or "You look like you've been a-sortin wildcats," or "You look like the hindquarters of hard luck," or, simply, "You look like somethin' the cat drug in that the dog wouldn't eat!"

"My belly thinks my throat is cut" means "I'm hungry," and seems to have a venerable history of several hundred years. I found a citation for it dated in the early 1500's.

A man may be "bad to drink" or "wicked to swear," but these descriptive adjectives are never reversed.

You ought not to be shocked if you hear a saintly looking grandmother admit she likes to hear a coarse-talking man; she means a man with a deep bass voice. (This can also refer to a singing voice, and in this case, if grandma prefers a tenor, she'd talk about someone who sings "shallow.") Nor ought you leap to the conclusion that a *"hard girl"* is one who lacks the finer feminine sensibilities. *Hard* is the dialectal pronunciation of *hired* and seems to stem from the same source as do "far" engines that run on rubber "tars."

This language is vivid and virile, but so was Elizabethan English. However, some of the things you say may be shocking the folk as much as their combined lexicons may be shocking you. For instance, in the stratum of society in which I was raised, it was considered acceptable for a lady to say either *damn* or *hell* if strongly moved. Most Appalachian ladies would rather be caught dead than uttering either of these words, but many very proper ladies of the region are pretty free with their use of a four letter word for manure which I don't use. I have heard it described as everything from bug——— to bull———.

Along with a propensity for calling a spade a spade, the dialect has a strange mid-victorian streak in it, too. Until recently, it was considered brash to use either the word *bull* or *stallion.* If it was necessary to refer to a bull, he was known variously as a *father cow* or a *gentleman cow* or an *ox* or a *mas-cu-line*, or the *male beast*, while a stallion was either a *stable horse* or else rather ominously, *The Animal.*

It is from this general period that the pronunciation *pie-ano* or *pie-anner* for *piano* seems to have evolved, people feeling that the first syllable of *piano* was indelicate.

Only *waspers* fly around Lincoln County; I don't think I've heard of a *wasp* there, and I've never been able to trace the reason for that usage, but I do know why *cockleburrs* are called *cuckleburrs.* The first part of the word cockleburr carried an objectionable connotation to the folk. However, if they are going to balk at that, it seems rather hilarious to me that they find nothing objectionable about *cuckle.*

I read somewhere of a Tennessee sheriff who was testifying at a trial and who declared modestly that he *roostered* his pistol because there were ladies present in the courtroom. I have even heard this usage carried over to the cockroach, it being delicately referred to as a *rooster-roach*.

One little old lady once told me of an embarrassing incident that had occurred to her father in his youth. It seems he had gone to the general store for some asafetida (to wear in a bag around his neck) and discovered, to his horror, that the only clerk in the whole store was a young lady. He decided he couldn't possibly ask for it by its right name since the first syllable didn't sound proper to him, so (after thinking it over) he requested some *rumpifidity*. A mountain sculptor was so tickled by this tale that he broke down and told me about a friend of his who had suffered in a similar cause. His friend, he informed me, was a fiddler and he broke one of the cat-gut strings on his fiddle. So he, too, went to a general store for a replacement, and again, the only available clerks in the store were ladies. This gave him a shock, and he had to consider seriously how best to request the type of fiddle strings he wanted. He came up with what he felt to be a masterpiece of delicacy and asked for a *pussy bowel* string!

A friend of mine who has a beauty parlor now, used to have a small store on the banks of the Guyan River. She told me about a little old lady who trotted into the store one day with a request for "some of the *strumpet candy*." My friend said she was very sorry they didn't have any. But, she added gamely, what kind was it, and she would try to order some. The little lady glanced around to see if she could be overheard, lowered her voice and said, "Well, it's *horehound*, but I don't like to use that word!"

The dialect today is a watered down thing compared to what it was a generation ago, but our people are still the best talkers in the world, and I think we should listen to them with more appreciation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Pyles, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964, p. 35. "It is not surprising that those lowland Scotsmen who colonized the 'King's Plantation' in Ulster and whose descendants crossed the Atlantic and settled the Blue Ridge, the Appalachians, and the Ozarks should have been so little affected by the classical culture of the Renaissance."
2. Albert Baugh, *A History of the English Language*, 2nd ed. New York, 1957. p. 409.
3. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, ed. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., the 4th ed. and the two supplements abridged, with annotations and new material. New York, 1963. p. 455.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

6 COMMUNICATING WITH THE EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED

MARION PEARSALL

The following compares and contrasts the philosophical values of Appalachian people with those exhibited by middle class America and provides some very interesting conclusions. Dr. Pearsall is a professor of behavioral sciences at the University of Kentucky.

FEW WORKERS in the area today are unaware of the distinctiveness of the Southern Appalachian region. Scholars from various disciplines and representatives of the helping professions have learned that people in the Southern mountains behave in certain regularly patterned ways that are somewhat different from the ways of other American regions. The region has a special culture, and we pride ourselves on taking this into consideration in our social analyses and action programs. All too frequently, however, we forget that we also have a culture. We are products of our own largely urban-based, upper middle class professional backgrounds, backgrounds that inevitably influence our relations with others. It is this point that I wish to emphasize in the following consideration of some of the problems involved in any communication between professional people and educationally deprived segments of the Southern Appalachian population.

First, there are some purely linguistic barriers of dialect, vocabulary, and expression. Many of us have learned the hard way that "I don't care to" means, "Yes, I would be delighted to." Such differences are important, but I would suggest that even more crucial is the differential exposure of the communicating parties to education and the written word. The semi-literate and functionally illiterate have simply never had access to the vicarious experiences and knowledge of books and lectures that college graduates take for granted. It is extremely difficult for the latter even to try to imagine what would be left of their understanding of a complex world were they suddenly to erase from their memories every item they had acquired through formal education or reading. Yet this is precisely the state of many who drop out early from what are likely to be substandard schools. As a result, we the educated and they the relatively uneducated live in very different worlds between which communication is bound to be difficult. The fundamental problem is not so much the translation of language as the translation of culture and experience.

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There are complicated and subtle differences in both language and world view between our upper middle class professional subcultures and the cultures of less educated social classes, ethnic groups, and members of rural or other simpler societies. Taking the world as a whole, it is we who are peculiar. We are especially peculiar in our penchant for abstracting preconceived details from situations and then organizing the abstractions into clear, logically consistent, and fairly long verbal accounts in terms of some problem-oriented framework. We persist in demanding similar accounts from others even though most of the world's peoples think far more concretely and also rely much more heavily on non-verbal communication. The British sociologist Basil Bernstein has discussed the more usual speech system very well in his study of working class behavior in England. He describes this linguistic code as one:

> ". . . which does not facilitate the verbal elaboration of meaning: it is a code which does not help the user put into words his intent, his unique purposes, beliefs and motivations. It also does not help him to receive such communications from others. It is a code which sensitizes the user to a particular form of relationship which is unambiguous, where the authority is clearcut and serves as a guide to action. It is a code which helps to sustain solidarity with the group at the cost of verbal signalling of the unique differences of its members. It is a code which facilitates the ready transformation of feeling into action. It is a code where changes in meaning are more likely to be signalled non-verbally than through changes in verbal selections."[1]

The code is used:

> ". . . against a backcloth of assumptions common to the speakers, against a set of shared interests and identifications, in short against a cultural identity which reduces the need for speakers to elaborate verbally their intent and make it explicit. If you know somebody very, very well, an enormous amount may be taken for granted: you do not have to put into words all that you feel because the feelings are common. But knowing somebody very well is a particular kind of social relationship; knowing somebody very well indicates common interests, identifications, expectations, although this need not necessarily mean common agreements."[2]

The description has relevance for the Southern Appalachians as anyone who has interviewed residents in the more isolated sections can attest. Such interviews, if you are lucky enough to find a talkative soul, may consist of a most baffling running narrative. The narrative is replete with what to the interviewer are mysterious names of persons and places apparently unconnected in any logical fashion to the subject under discussion and all hidden amid a welter of seemingly unrelated asides. The statements are of course entirely clear and logical once the interviewer has familiarized himself with the person and his family, friends, neighborhood, occupation, and general life experience. The speaker has simply assumed that the interviewer is already aware of such details else why would he have asked such questions in the first place. Also, these are the things *everybody* knows when life is lived in a small and personal world. The person being interviewed may know of strange places and strange people. He may have lived at some time in a city which he recognized to be physically large and full of strangers, but he has never seriously entertained the notion that there can be any great difference between his own world and that of everyone else. He is puzzled and brought up short when the interviewer asks probing questions designed to elicit an abstract generalization or to introduce order into proliferating digressions.

The greatest difficulties in communication, however, are not with the region's skilled talkers who are often excellent and delightful storytellers even when, by urban middle class standards, they seem to ramble. A far bigger barrier is occasioned by differing average rates of verbal interaction. In contrast to the rapid-fire verbalizations of many professionals, rural mountain people speak slowly and are comfortably at home with long silences that embarrass the cosmopolite used to hiding his social discomfort with chitchat. Especially with strangers and officials or other persons in authority, the average individual from the mountains finds it expedient to be cautious, politely monosyllabic, and generally noncommital. For the outsider, the situation is further aggravated by the mountain tendency to stoicism which results in a minimum of non-verbal cues to guide the listener. Perhaps the best illustration of this pattern is the traditional manner of singing ballads. The ballads are tales of woe, but the singer stands or sits rigidly and without facial expression or emotional gesture gives voice to the sad story. Ballad singing has almost disappeared, but to this day heart-rending tales of personal tragedy and hardship are related in a similar flat, emotionless monotone without benefit of gesture or expression.

Interviewing such a person, the upper middle class professional gets anxious and tends to increase rather than slow down his own verbal rate after hearing nothing but polite "yeses" and enigmatic "wells" from his respondent. The recipient of this attention would prefer to slow down since he needs to "study on" things, to "worry" about them awhile, and especially to discuss them with other members of the family if any kind of decision is required. Ultimately, such a person is so bombarded by verbal aggression that the only recourse is physical or psychological withdrawal. Withdrawal is the method of the women in particular; men are more likely to become angry and overtly hostile. But both become "nervous" in the face of a rapid stream of words, whether kindly mentioned or not, until they cease to hear and cannot possibly respond.

All of the communication problems mentioned so far occur in the context of two sets of contrasting value-orientations which further complicate the picture. That is, all human societies, either explicitly or implictly, develop answers to certain universal questions about the nature of human existence.[3] The answers then become that society's basic premises and tend to permeate all major institutions and activities. The answers and basic premises of Southern Appalachian culture are distinctly different from the answers and premises that characterize modern American culture as a whole. They make it difficult for the rest of us to deal with Southern Appalachian problems from the outside. They make it equally difficult for the people themselves to accept and make constructive use of outside assistance or to develop ways of their own for coping with contemporary problems.

Value-orientations of course are not either-or absolutes. They are only trends or central tendencies. Individual members of a society may reflect the entire range of possible orientations. At the same time, there is a clustering of orientations so that certain patterns emerge as modal or dominant for a given group. In this connection, it is important to note that there is great heterogeneity within the Southern Appalachian region. The value-orientations presented here represent an extreme version of the traditional culture as it can still be seen only in the most rural and isolated counties. Table 1 lists the six basic value-orientations for this portion of the mountains with the corresponding value-orientations that seem to dominate American upper middle class professions. No value judgments are implied since there is nothing inherently good or bad in an absolute sense about any orientation. They are simply facts of life with which we must come to terms if we are to communicate effectively with each other. As answers to basic questions, they can be discussed and compared; but we do not yet have any universally valid criteria for judging them. It is in this spirit that I turn now to a comparison of the values in the table.

1. What is the relation of man to nature (and/or supernature)?

Nature and supernature are so intertwined in many societies that they cannot be separated. This is true in Southern Appalachia where man is typically seen as subjugated to nature and to the God who controls nature. There is little possibility of humans to control their own destiny, and to attempt such control would almost amount to sacrilege. In accordance with this view, things happen for external reasons in a

Table 1. Contrasting Value-Orientations in Traditional Southern Appalachian and Upper Middle Class Professional Cultures

Underlying Question	Southern Appalachian	Upper Middle Class Professional
1. What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)?	Man subjugated to nature and God, little human control over destiny; fatalism (pessimistic and optimistic).	Man can control nature; or God works through man: basically optimistic.
2. What is the relation of man to time?	Present orientation, present and future telescoped, slow and "natural" rhythms.	Future orientation and planning, fast, regulated by clock, calendar, and technology.
3. What is the relation of man to space?	Orientation to concrete places and particular things.	Orientation to everywhere and everything.
4. What is the nature of human nature?	Basically evil and unalterable, at least for others and in the absence of Divine intervention.	Basically good or mixed good-and-evil, alterable.
5. What is the nature of human activity?	Being.	Doing.
6. What is the nature of human relations?	Personal, kinship-based, strangers are suspect.	Relatively impersonal, recognize non-kin criteria, handle strangers on basis of roles.

way that leads to both fatalistic pessimism and fatalistic optimism. Thus, it is expected that much evil will beset one, but it is also believed that good may befall one unexpectedly. Whether good or bad, however, there is nothing much humans can do to alter the situation. There is consequently a strong sense of powerlessness against overwhelming odds, a resignation to life and death as they come, and little incentive to work toward change. It should be remembered that to a considerable degree, this is a realistic view for the poor and uneducated who are quite literally not masters of their own fate.

By contrast, the upper middle class professional is likely to view nature as something to be controlled by man and used for human benefit. He is trained to change the world, to alter conditions; and by and large, he experiences enough success to reinforce his belief in the possibility of humanly directed change. Even for the religious in this category, the belief is that God works through man to whom He has given both the ability and the responsibility for improving conditions. Carried to an extreme, this view makes man rather than God the ruler of the universe; and even death seems like human failure instead of human destiny.

2. *What is the relation of man to time?*

I have already suggested some of the differences in Southern Appalachian rural and urban middle class tempos with regard to speech patterns. In the mountains it is still ecological more than clock or calendar-measured time that regulates life through the rhythm of day and night, of the seasons, and of the family life cycle. Life flows instead of being chopped up into arbitrarily uniform units.

In the orientation to past, present, and future also, people from the mountains stand in contrast to dominant American orientations. As a nation, we are for the most part future-oriented, a fact that has an important bearing on our ability to plan future goals and follow a long-range course of behavior leading to those goals. In the Southern Appalachians, however, there is little concern for a future here on earth though there is an abundance of concern about a future in Heaven or Hell. On the other hand, there is no special orientation to the past either. Tradition is an unconscious rather than a conscious guide. Rather, life is lived primarily in terms of the present which is also the past and future telescoped into immediate experience. There is neither much learning from the wisdom of past generations nor much planning for the future. There is little incentive to put up with irksome restrictions and effort-demanding actions either for the sake of a nebulous future goal or in order to bring honor to one's ancestors.

3. *What is the relation of man to space?*

Here again, there is a contrast between the Southern Appalachians (in fact, the whole South) and the rest of the country. Thornton Wilder once commented that Americans are "abstract." By that he meant that we are oriented to everywhere and everything, a fact that makes both geographic and social mobility fairly painless for those who are unencumbered by strong ties to places or things. But in Southern Appalachia and the rest of the South, it is the concreteness of life that is valued, the particular locations and the particular possessions. Women especially will know and love every flower and blade of grass on their land and know where every prized belonging is located in the seeming clutter of their overcrowded houses. It is time and place together, including the solid and well-defined human relationships associated with them, and their repetitiveness from day to day and through the years that impart meaning to Southern Appalachian life.

4. *What is the nature of human nature?*

In the Southern Appalachians, this question is answered in terms of a strong Fundamentalist concern with Original Sin. Human nature is viewed as inherently evil and, short of salvation through Divine intervention, unalterable. The individual from this background tends to think of himself and his own family (though not neccessarily his wife or her family) as thoroughly righteous, thoroughly honest, and totally incorruptible. In his own view, he is always a good Christian doing what the Bible teaches. He is therefore not likely to blame himself for any trouble he may have with others. But the others are believed to be sinful, dishonest, selfish, and unsaved, at least until they have conclusively proved themselves otherwise.

People from the educated upper middle class, on the other hand, are likely to be more optimistic. They tend to see human nature as basically good or some mixture of good and evil. Furthermore, they believe that it is possible for a person to change his basic nature either by his own efforts or with the help of others. In fact, members of most service professions are committed to a belief that they can change or modify human nature.

5. What is the nature of human activity?

For a person from the traditional Southern Appalachian culture as for people in many uncomplex societies, being rather than doing is the major life goal. In middle class circles children are always being asked, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" The reasonable expectation is that they will reply in terms of some career. They intend to become a doctor or lawyer or nurse or teacher or some similarly achievement-oriented calling. In the mountains such a question has little meaning since what the child intends to be when he grows up is a man or a woman, nothing more and nothing less. Certain qualities are associated with being a man or a woman, but these are qualities that one has rather than having to acquire through conscious effort. In comparison, people from the urban middle class do not expect to gain respect simply on the basis of who they are, what family they belong to, and the like. They learn very early that they must continually validate their status by doing and achieving in some specialized career.

6. What is the nature of human relations?

Like many rural or otherwise isolated societies, Southern Appalachia works on the basis of personal and largely kinship-based relations. Given a view that the world is more malevolent than benevolent and that human nature is fundamentally evil, relations outside the extended group of relatives and long-tested neighbors are automatically suspect. And when such relationships are entered into, it is in personal terms and for personal reasons. In fact, there is usually the implication of a personal favor graciously bestowed. Whether a patient stays in a hospital or leaves against medical advice depends more on his personal relations with hospital personnel than on any understanding he may have of his medical condition and the hospital's technical competence in treating him. Similarly, parents decide they may "let" their children go to school this year. Or a man enlists in the army as a favor to his country or goes to work on a given day in order to help the boss.

Members of the upper middle class operate on quite different terms. They are used to entering into many relationships on very impersonal terms. They expect nothing personal, and they give nothing personal. They play roles in which they are not unduly suspicious of strangers so long as they can handle them in terms of some accepted role. So long as a clerk behaves like a clerk, the customer does not care who the clerk is or where she lives and has her personal life. Similarly, the clerk responds to the customer as a role and has no interest in him as a person. In fact, in many relations we prefer not to deal with anything but the role. Who is to say whether we or the Southern mountaineer are the losers in this game?

There are many problems as the two cultures meet. Any and all of the value-orientations merit further study as we explore and try to overcome the barriers they create. The present brief outline can only hope to alert people on both sides of the cultural fence to the problems they must face together. The Southern Appalachian culture is not an easy culture for other Americans to work with, nor is it an easy culture to live in at the present time. Whether rightly or wrongly, the traditional Southern Appalachian way of life no longer prepares its members to contend with the realities of mid-twentieth century living. We and they must therefore strike some balance, hopefully modifying our own behavior enough to incorporate the virtues of the mountain heritage while bringing them into full partnership in today's affluent Great Society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Basil Bernstein, "Social Class, Speech Systems and Psycho-Therapy," *British J. Sociology*, v. 15, 1964, p. 56.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
3. For the theoretical background to the concept of value-orientations, see Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1961, pp. 1–48.

7 SEX AND MARRIAGE IN RURAL APPALACHIA

HARVEY L. GOCHROS

This selection reviews the sexual relationship between the Appalachian man and woman. The author focuses on the high rate of illegitimacy, high birth rate, and the emotional isolation of women as general problems. Also treated are certain sexual perversions such as incest and bestiality as well as the unspeakable topic of sex education. Dr. Gochros teaches at the University of Hawaii.

Even in this age of sexual revolution and growing enlightenment, sex has many of the attributes of a mystery: performed in secret, characterized by a wide spectrum of intense but silent emotions, subject of considerable curiosity, but little serious discussion even in academia or social work, much less the average home. The works of Kinsey and Pomeroy, and Masters and Johnson have only begun to expose this basic, omnipresent, problem-laden facet of human behavior to the light of scientific inquiry.

Just as the best mysteries are often set in the countryside, rural sexuality is even a more unknown entity and certainly less discussed than urban sexuality. Rural people do not talk much about sex, particularly with outsiders. There is little written about the subject. On the rare occasions when attention is drawn from the urban social crises to the rural wilt, particularly in Appalachia, such attention is generally focused on the more obvious problems such as the slow death of the rural communities and the accompanying migration, black lung disease, and the everpresent mine disasters.

It is the intent of this paper to explore contemporary rural sexual behavior and some of the associated problems. It will focus on the material and sexual patterns of a sampling of people in central rural Appalachia, most of whom are living on minimum incomes. Since such a presentation leans toward the sterotypic, it should be recognized that there are variations from community to community even within Appalachia and certainly among families and individuals. What will be described may well be as much a function of membership in the culture of poverty, than residence in rural communities. I will leave it up to the

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reader to evaluate the degree to which these observations can be generalized to other rural poor populations.**

Of paramount importance in understanding sexuality and marriage in Appalachia as distinct from urban counterparts, is the fact that the family seems to be clearly patriarchal regardless of economic level. In general, women are taught to serve men and to consider themselves somewhat inferior. Their roles are as wives and mothers, catering to their husbands and raising their children. Men are taught to consider themselves the superior sex. They expect their wives to keep the home in order, control the children, and satisfy their sexual needs. If wives feel anger toward their husbands, they will generally suppress it. The expression of anger, and openness in general is not the trump card of the Appalachian. In fact, as we shall see later, communication itself is quite limited between the marital partners. Communications between husband and wife are further reduced by the necessity of the husband having to be away for extended periods at work and in travelling the usually long distances between home and work.

Let us now follow the development of sexual attitudes and behavior and the marital relationship which is to be found among many Appalachians. In *Yesterday's People*, Weller noted that "for mountain teenagers, life is incredibly dull. They are filled with vague restlessness and longings, and there are neither intellectual nor recreational outlets for them. Little money is available to them, further cutting down their ability to do things."[1] Sexual activity begins in the early teens. The consent of a 16-year-old girl, for instance, is a defense in cases of statutory rape in West Virginia. It is accepted that men will be promiscuous, while the attitudes toward the girl are more variable. Forty-six percent of the teenaged girls interviewed recently in a Job Corps Center in Appalachia considered premarital sex acceptable and approximately two-thirds acknowledged premarital intercourse. Weller goes on to say: "A boy and girl seldom join with other couples. In all kinds of weather you see young couples out walking along the road. They have no adult guidance and nothing to do."[2] Illegitimate pregnancies would be expected to be fairly common under these circumstances and they are, with more than one illegitimate pregnancy not unusual for the

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** Much of the basic data is based on the work of a group of graduate social work students who were enrolled in a course on human sexuality. They combed the sparse literature on Appalachian sex, reviewed child welfare and other case records, and interviewed rural West Virginia judges, lawyers, doctors, public health nurses, Job Corps students, school teachers, a university sociologist who lived for seven months up a hollow, and assorted other mountaineers, including a prostitute, in their quest for information on rural sexual patterns. I am indebted to them for this presentation. The report is therefore largely impressionistic. As such, it runs the risk of drawing conclusions from isolated observations, leading perhaps to some overgeneralizations, which, alas, have already characterized many analyses of Appalachian society.

households in some hollows. According to Harry Caudill, the poverty of the region often means girls with illegitimate children can't afford to marry in view of the extended family's dependence on the ADC check.[3] However, many observers point out that girls with children born out of wedlock do eventually marry. Children born of these unions generally remain within the family, most often with the grandparents. Adoption is considered an unthinkable and probably unrealistic idea. Abortion is virtually unknown. We still hear the mountain adage "once it's his fault, twice it's hers." Again, surprisingly in an area of religious fundamentalists, observers have found that pregnancy prior to marriage is accepted in a fatalistic manner. Whether or not the unmarried mother becomes the subject of gossip, and such gossip appears minimal, the child is integrated into the extended family, with no particular stigma.[4] Sometimes the boy marries the girl, and sometimes he doesn't. Regardless, the girl usually keeps her baby, with subsequent marriage prospects probably not significantly altered.

Most girls marry around the age of 17 or 18. However, the average age for a male is between 22 and 23, often after a more or less unsuccessful attempt to make it in the big city.[5]

The function of marriage is not to legitimize sex—this is not necessary—or even to deal with illegitimacy, which is handled in other ways. More often marriage is seen as an opportunity to get away from a degenerating family.

Courtship patterns of people living on the poverty level in general are probably not dissimilar from Appalachians. "There is some evidence that they do not regard themselves as active choosers of mates. This fatalism or sense of powerlessness may be responsible, in part, for the relative lack of initiative displayed during courtship."[6] There is little romance or even enthusiasm in courtship. The study of girls in the Job Corps center referred to earlier, for instance, showed that their highest criterion for potential marital partners was the possession of a good job. Good listening ability was ranked tenth, sex appeal sixteenth, and appearance seventeenth.

Parents generally accept early marriage for their children. Weller noted that "parents have no insight into youthful feelings and do not try to understand. Since neither educational nor vocational plans stand in the way, parents feel that they can do no other than let people marry when they wish. Many marry, however, to get away from home, succeeding only in setting up another household where the same problems are perpetuated."[7]

The marriage ceremony is generally perfunctory, taking place more often than not at the county courthouse. Honeymoons are virtually nonexistent. Instead, the young couple return from the courthouse to take up residence in the home of one of their parents unless or until they decide to establish their own household. It is not unusual in this society which revolves around extended family units for the shared household arrangements to continue indefinitely.[8] From the very beginning of the marriage, there is an emotional isolation of the partners. "In contrast to the typical newly married couple in the middle class (lower class Appalachian), partners cling to old friendships and kinship ties rather than reorganize ties to make each partner comfortable in moving within one network." Apparently fathers, friends, and relatives are sought out to meet most of the companionship needs which middle class and non-Appalachians meet through their marriage.[9]

Sex in these marriages is often a dismal affair. The wife is taught not to enjoy it, the husband that he is not to engage in foreplay and neither seem to connect love or emotions with sexual activity. Sex transpires as a mechanical act, sometimes in the presence of children within the one-bedroom cabin. There is little loving involved, at least by middle class connotations of love.

Rural religion has a significant role in this pattern. The fundamental religions still stress that the physical desire for sex is intrinsically evil, along with the use of cosmetics, jewelry, alcohol, and dancing. Such fundamentalism is, of course, understandable in the atmosphere of the hard realities of rural mountain life, yet it certainly takes its toll on the pleasure of marital sex.

The woman seems to be the greater loser in the sexual and marital relationship. It is consistently noted that after marriage the wife ages quickly, becomes increasingly passive, and less conscious of her appearance. Many women experience "female troubles" at a fairly early age, often in their late 20's. These troubles are described as menopausal and as a reason for early cessation of sex relations with their spouses. A resident sociologist reported hearing many descriptions of "nerve fits" related to sex activity. The woman often claimed that this was connected with menopause, and described the fits as being both a physical and emotional reaction which precluded sexual activity.

Having had so many children so rapidly, subsisting on a poor starchy diet and obtaining inadequate dental care, mountain women often become obese and toothless at an early age. They lose their attractiveness to their already distinterested mates and the two terminate sexual relations.

The sex life, then, which began so early for the Appalachian woman ends at a relatively early age. She is left with the mixed pleasure of a big brood but with many years devoid of sexual pleasure and marital companionship.

The man exhibits a somewhat similar pattern to the woman but at least maintains some freedom, authority, and autonomy and does not show the same rapid physical deterioration as the woman (or at least physical deterioration is more apt to be the result of occupational disease such as Black Lung, tuberculosis, etc.). Both man and wife tend to return to their own same sex reference groups and to the extended family.

The men often seek extramarital relations following the termination of their marital sex activities, although prostitution is a dying art in the county seats. Even if the wife is aware of the infidelity, there is no overt recrimination. Confrontation is avoided. There is little gossip about it in the community. Again, one does not talk about sex and one certainly does not speak unkindly about one's neighbor. Furthermore, divorce is uncommon, perhaps because of its expense, and also, because mountain people do not look kindly on divorce. It is noteworthy that the fine for adultery in West Virginia and Kentucky, unlike the penalty for other sex offenses, is quite light: not to exceed $50.

The birth rate among rural Appalachians is high. It has been estimated at 48 per thousand, which is twice the United States average and on a par with India and China. There is a common notion that mountaineers breed so fast because they have no idea how to stop it. This is not true. Several of our informants indicated that birth control devices have long been available to rural Appalachians, even for those living far up the hollow—through various facilities and at less cost, if any, than to city dwellers. Our Job Corps study, for instance, showed that approximately two-thirds of these teenage girls had access to and used contraceptives. Most often, contraceptive pills or IUD's are supplied to them by a doctor or school nurse. Only one-third claimed unfamiliarity or nonuse of contraceptives.

Several theories have been proposed to explain why the poor do not use contraceptives. In the case of Appalachian women, we hear that they are conditioned to have as many children as possible to assure their place in mountaineer society. It is expected of them and independence of action is rare in keeping with the dictates of tribal society. The woman seeks her status by producing the only thing she can: Children. Pregnancy also provides the women sexual freedom and may be the only period in which her husband is actually tender and felicitous of her.[10] However, other male-dominated societies have curbed their birth rate. Why has this not been possible in Appalachia (if, indeed it were desirable)?

Perhaps a part of the answer lies within the fundamentalist churches to which many of the Appalachian women belong. Here we often encounter the preacher who instructs his followers to adhere to the biblical command to bear children, preaching such admonitions as "the Lord said to multiply and fill the earth and people who disobey will be cast into the flames."[11] The woman feels strength in the norms of her church and the church extolls her to go forth and multiply. Birth control implies a purpose in the sex act other than procreation, and that might be construed as anti-religious. The significance of the church to the Appalachian is perhaps again illustrated by our Job Corps girls who stated that the most frequent location for their dating is the church.

Is this enough to account for the fecundity of the mountaineer woman? We do not fully understand why couples do not seem to practice birth control. Is it a question of apathy or fatalism? Is the early termination of marital sexual relations their form of family planning? Are contraceptives as available as some of our informants think they are? Are they economically feasible? Do the mountaineers lack knowledge of their use? Many women might not admit that they do not understand how to use the pills or devices and a high illiteracy rate among the women makes written instructions of little use. For some reason do the women just fear their use? Do the Appalachian husbands prevent their wives from using contraceptives because they violate their sense of masculinity? Or, do the mountaineer couples oriented to their extended families simply consider a large number of children, despite their problems, worth it?

I have spoken of three major aspects of Appalachian sexuality: the high rate of illegitimacy, the generally high birth rate in an area of poverty, and the emotional isolation of the Appalachian woman in her marriage. I would like now to review several other areas of sexuality often perceived as rural problems.

Despite its alleged high incidence, incest, at least as reported to officials, is not common in Appalachia. It is considered an unpardonable act and treated severely. Adjudicated cases of incest have a maximum penalty of 21 years in prison in Kentucky and Tennessee and 10 years in West Virginia. In a recent study of active child welfare cases in four rural West Virginia communities, 10 out of 550 cases involved incest.

There is a high incidence of first cousin marriage.[17] This form of marriage is considered questionable by many Appalachians and inbreeding is associated with a community having a low status by members of neighboring communities.

As is true of all poor people, Appalachian poor tend to select spouses on the basis of residential proximity. Nearness to one's neighbors may not lead to marriages with relatives in crowded urban slums, but in the sparsely populated, widely separated mountain hollows where almost everyone is related to everyone else, endogamy is difficult to avoid.

We know little about the incidence of venereal disease. In rural areas, the law regarding the reporting of veneral disease is not very effective. Several medical people interviewed for this study questioned the statistics which show a low and decreasing incidence of venereal disease in their counties. Most felt that the incidence is rising and occasionally becomes of epidemic proportions. Such epidemics may in fact result from the growing contact rural people have with the outside world. But here again, the Appalachian tradition of silence regarding sexual matters keeps us in the dark.

Bestiality is probably more common than either venereal disease or incest. The almost limitless repertoire of jokes regarding human-animal sexual contact is perhaps an index of the prevalence of this sexual behavior (We can tell a great deal about an individual or a society by the subject of their laughter.). Sexual contacts, according to Kinsey, are not rare between men and animals in rural America. Seventeen per cent of the rural boys interviewed by Kinsey's group had had sexual contact with farm animals to the point of orgasm. In some rural communities a half or more of the men had had such experience.[13] The incidence for rural women is much lower with only 3.6 per cent of the sample ever having engaged in animal sexual contacts.[14] Such a high incidence for men is perhaps understandable in terms of the relative isolation of rural people and the ever presence of animals. Jerome Himelhoch and Fora Fleis note in their book *Sexual Behavior in American Society*, that there are reports of male and female bestiality with every kind of bird or animal including porcupines![15]

What are the implications of this review of sexual behavior and problems in rural Appalachia? First and foremost, as we see in other areas of social work concern, there is a need for improving communications. Perhaps if people, particularly parents, started talking about sex, we could reduce some of the problems associated with it. One of the major vehicles to encourage better communications would be to develop sex education in schools, intelligently taught and appropriate to the age and needs of the students. It is not surprising that with rural taboos, sex education both in the home and in the school is practically nonexistent. We found everywhere a great reluctance to talk about sex. Children must learn from watching the animals, siblings, and neighbors. Parents who won't talk about sex among themselves certainly won't discuss it with their children. Not one of our Job Corps girls reported obtaining sexual instruction or contraceptive information from her parents. Several of the school teachers who were interviewed reported their concern about their adolescent girls who began menstruation in school with no parental preparation and with resulting anxieties, embarrassment and humilitation.

It is heartening to note that in the high school of one of the rural communities which our students studied, an introductory sex education program has been started with initially good response.

It would be hoped that such courses would offer more than reproductive education and get down to what one teacher referred to as the "nitty-gritty" of sexuality. Perhaps the best place for sex education is in the home. But we must start somewhere and today's student will be tomorrow's parent, better equipped to communicate with his children as they develop sexually. Social workers could offer consultation or direct services in this area.

A second suggestion relates to the fact that in rural states cases involving sexual problems such as statutory rape, gang homosexuality, and incest are often referred by the courts to the Child Welfare worker. There is no local psychiatrist to refer these cases to. The only resource is the child welfare workers themselves. We might ask ourselves how well qualified are these workers to deal with these problems, and how willing are the families to use them? Workers in a self-help project in rural Appalachia reported fear and rejection of revealing problems in private and sensitive areas to their welfare workers. Indeed they feared retribution, such as loss of financial assistance or removal of children if they did so. Welfare recipients were often unaware of any interest or competence in the worker to help with such problems and occasionally reported situations in which the worker refused to get involved when approached with these problems.[16] In most cases, however, there is probably a genuine desire on the part of the workers to help the families involved, but how well do our in-service training programs—how well, indeed do our graduate social work programs—prepare workers to deal with sexual problems? Social Work practice and education have been sadly remiss in their own avoidance of human sexuality.

A related area which needs bolstering in rural areas is insuring that information and materials are available and acceptable to those who want to limit the size of their families. While we do not fully understand the paradox of birth control allegedly being available but not being used, our concern for family planning in the overcrowded cities should not blind us to the fact that there isn't much support for all those people up in the hollow either.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People* (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), p. 70.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1962).
4. Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
5. Nancy Kovanis, *Sex and Rural Appalachia*, unpublished student manuscript based on interviews with Dr. Ronald C. Althouse, p. 6.
6. Lola M. Irelan, ed., *Low Income Life Styles*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 15.
7. Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Irelan, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
10. Suzanne Keller, *The American Lower Class Family* (New York: New York State Division for Youth, 1966), p. 39.

11. James Brown, "Fruitful Mountaineers Life," *Life*, December 26, 1949, p. 60.
12. Kovanis, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
13. Alfred Kinsey, *et. al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), p. 671–73.
14. Alfred Kinsey, *et. al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1953), p. 505.
15. Jerome Himelhoch and Fora Sylvia Fleis, *Sexual Behavior in American Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Son, 1955), p. 338.
16. Personal Communication, Self-Help Project worker, Morgantown, West Virginia.

8 THE APPALACHIAN FAMILY

JAMES S. BROWN AND HARRY K. SCHWARZWELLER

The family in Appalachia has characteristics which distinguish it from national patterns. This selection explores these and arrives at some interesting concluding strengths. Dr. Brown is a sociology professor at the University of Kentucky and Dr. Schwarzweller is a professor of sociology at Michigan State University.

The Appalachian Region is an area of great social and cultural diversity and this diversity, in turn, is reflected by numerous and sundry variations in family forms. Depending on the criteria one employs to classify families, we can find, for example: urban and rural families; farm and nonfarm families; mining and nonmining families; Negro and white families; and upper, middle, and lower class families. To make matters more complicated, Appalachian families are also found outside of the region, for countless thousands have migrated over the years to areas elsewhere. When we speak of the Appalachian Family, therefore, we are using an abstract term to refer to a complicated reality in order to communicate more efficiently and, thereby, to foster a better understanding of the lifespace of these mountain people and their manner of accommodating to what is essentially a harsh environment.

We shall attempt, then, to generalize about Appalachian families and, where possible, to contrast the model form of the rural mountain family—and some of the recent changes in it—with that of the contemporary, urban American family. Our conceptual model for the latter is derived from Robin Williams' and Talcott Parsons' analyses of the American kinship structure.[1] It should also be made clear that

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much of our research experience has been with families in the subsistence-agricultural areas of eastern Kentucky; it is inevitable, therefore, that our perspectives will lean somewhat in that direction. The reader may find it useful to compare the impressions put forth here with those of Jack Weller, whose generalizations tend to focus more on families in the mining areas of West Virginia.[2]

CHARACTERISTICS OF APPALACHIAN FAMILIES

The Appalachian family *tends to emphasize family tradition* to a greater degree than does the general American family. An eastern Kentucky saying goes that "if you know how the father and grandfather walk and talk you will know how the son and grandson walk and talk." Patterns of behavior, attitudes, the manner of dealing with everyday problems and crises, diets and ways of cooking, and interfamily friendship ties tend to remain very similar, generation after generation, within a given family. There is much continuity of this kind, even today. But recent evidence suggests that traditional patterns of family behavior are being disturbed and that the stability of the rural Appalachian family is being threatened by the forces of change.

Although *Appalachian families still tend to be larger,* on the average, than families in the nation as a whole, the difference in size is no longer as great as it once was. In 1960, for instance, there was an average of 3.6 persons per household in the Southern Appalachian Region as compared with 3.4 in the United States.[3] Various areas of the region, however, show marked differences; thirteen of the more remote rural counties of eastern Kentucky, for example, had average households of four or more persons.

Fertility rates have also declined and now approximate those of the nation as a whole. This fact may come as some surprise if one recalls the region's vital statistic data of twenty years ago. Indeed, the change has been not only dramatic but, by and large, unanticipated. "The great decline in Southern Appalachian fertility," according to Ford and DeJong, "came between 1950 and 1960, a period when the general fertility rate for the white population of the nation rose. Consequently by 1960 there were . . . . 93 counties with equal or lower standardized general fertility rates than the national rate of 118.9."[4] These counties, with equal or lower fertility rates than the nation as a whole, contain about 60 percent of the Appalachian population. The standardized general fertility rate for the total Appalachian region in 1960 was 117.8—in 1930, the Appalachian rate was 129.5 while the rate in the United States was 84.7.

It is clear, then, that some startling changes are occurring relevant to the family which, inevitably, will produce far-reaching social consequences both within and outside of the region. Indeed, from the point of view of gross statistical trends such as family size and fertility rates, it appears that this once predominantly rural region is rapidy becoming modernized.[5] Structurally, however, in terms of the tone, quality, and interactional patterns characterizing family life in the region, particularly in the more remote rural areas, traditional features of the Appalachian family persist. Agents of change must understand and take these structural features into account if they wish to organize effective programs that "reach" and "aid" the people of Appalachia without, at one and the same time, undermining the very foundations of their social world.

The key group in the Appalachian kinship structure is *the conjugal family* composed of husband, wife and their immature children. This is also the main kinship unit in urban America. In Appalachia, however, the wider network of kin relationships receives somewhat greater emphasis than is generally the case elsewhere; *the extended family,* which performed such a vital function in assuring an individual's well-being and survival during earlier frontier times, continues to be very important.[6] Nevertheless, the vast majority of rural Appalachian households include *only* members of the conjugal family. The quaint idea that mountain households are composed of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and assorted relatives of one kind or another is in error.

As elsewhere in America, the conjugal family is *not expected to ally itself with one side or the other of the "in-laws."* Consequently, the resulting network of social obligations within a mountain neighborhood often resembles a delicate balance of power situation with all its inherent strains. For example, if a conjugal family begins to favor one set of in-laws over the other, and this can happen, trouble usually breaks out which invariably tends to bring the situation back to *"normal."* The social pressure to treat both-in-law families the same may lead the conjugal family to withdraw from close relationships with either, thus contributing to the isolation of the conjugal family as well as of both in-law families. This is one of the structural strains, as Parsons calls such crucial relationships,[7] in the American kinship system, and although this sort of structural strain is evident in Appalachia too, it is somewhat less prominent and less significant than we might suppose. Young people, through the processes of socialization within the family, have been taught to deal with such problems as a matter of course and to focus their attention on the maintenance of family solidarity.

In certain respects, *male dominance still exists* in the Appalachian family. Boys tend to be favored somewhat more than girls and the husband-father is more likely to act as head of the household. However, we can no longer call the Appalachian family patriarchal or semipatriarchal in the strict sense of those terms. Mountain families are rapidly taking on the characteristics of the equalitarian pattern as commonly practiced in contemporary urban families and for many of the same reasons.

Within the family itself, nevertheless, there is a sharper separation of role activities between the sexes, and there is less veering, in general, in the female role *toward* the masculine role than in the American family as a whole. For instance, there are fewer women that work outside the home—only *27 percent* of the females, 14 years of age and over, were in the labor force in Appalachia in 1960 as compared with *36 percent* in the United States. Women do not have recreational activities outside the home as much as in the country at large, and are not as apt to wear "masculine" clothing or to enter politics. Appalachian women are more likely to follow what might be called a domestic role rather than a good companion or glamour girl role.[8]

The Appalachian family is also less child-centered than the average American family; mountain parents are not as permissive or as non-directive and there is more reliance on physical punishment. Because of the importance of the extended family, the Appalachian child is often not as dependent on parents and siblings alone for his emotional needs and affection. This helps us to understand, perhaps, certain personality characteristics of Appalachian people.[9] For example, our modern, urban middle-class family in its contemporary setting is so constructed that the child can really receive affection and affectional security from only a very limited group of people. Outside of this limited group, there exists a somewhat impersonal world. This is not true to the same extent in rural Appalachia where children are still brought up by their parents but where much of their "outside world" is composed of relatives and kin who share some of these responsibilities.[10] In other words, although the mother performs a primary role in the socialization process, the responsibility for the early socialization of children in Appalachia is less exclusively hers than it is of her counterpart in urban, middle-class families.

As in urban America, young people in Appalachia also suffer through the stresses and strains of adolescence. In the more remote rural areas, however, the family and community continue to maintain tight control over the young people and, as a consequence, there tends to be less juvenile delinquency in rural Appalachia than in most other parts of the United States, and even when compared with other rural regions. Perhaps the lower age of marriage, which is characteristic of Appalachia, has helped to hold down some of the deviant manifestations that often result from the gap between biological and social maturity.

Another important point is that the *free choice of mates tends to be restricted,* informally at least, especially in those rural areas where there has been longtime residential stability. One reason, of course, is that the individual's spouse will become a member of his close-knit kin group, and, consequently, there is a great deal of pressure on the individual to choose a mate whom kinsfolk will accept. This is not, however, a formalized pattern nor is it considered an ideal norm by the people of rural Appalachia; that the pattern exists, nevertheless, is empirically indisputable.

Children in Appalachia tend to disperse from their parental households when they reach adulthood, just as they are expected to do in urban America. In earlier days, of course, mountain children were inclined to settle nearby whereas nowadays they tend to relocate in areas far removed from their parental homesteads. With the great migration of recent decades—a net loss of nearly two million migrants in the twenty-year period from 1940–1960—it appears that Appalachian people are carrying the American pattern of geographic mobility almost to an extreme.

One of the consequences of this massive out-migration is that *older people* who remain behind on the family homesteads *are becoming much more isolated* and alone. Furthermore, although older people in Appalachia, especially in the farming areas, still command greater respect and deference from their children and from their neighbors than do older people in urban America, recent social, economic, and cultural changes are eroding the traditional norms of granting higher status to age. The so-called generational gap may be an inevitable by-product of urbanization; it should be noted, however, that unlike urban America which in many ways drifted into that situation, rural Appalachia is plunging in as a result of very rapid rates of modernization. In the future, the consequences of this gap will become quite a serious problem in the region.

In summary fashion, then, we have suggested some of the distinguishing characteristics of rural Appalachian families in comparison to what we would regard as the main features of urban American families. It seems clear that Appalachian families, although they place considerably more emphasis upon extended kinship ties, can by no means be regarded as unique. Differences in form which exist are probably more a result of group adaptation to environmental circumstances over the years than to any deep-seated differences in basic values. This is evidenced, for example, by the convergence of regional statistical trends with those of the larger American society. Nevertheless, as rural Appalachia moves into the mainstream of the modern world, the Appalachian family will undoubtedly play an increasingly important role in facilitating or hindering the processes of change.

THE APPALACHIAN FAMILY IN THE MODERN WORLD: SOME DISADVANTAGES

One of the characteristics of the Appalachian family which must be regarded as somewhat of a hindrance to social change in the region is its virtual monopoly over the socialization and interest-world of its members. It is extremely difficult for individuals to shift from traditional and local patterns of behavior to more modern and rational patterns. For example, Dr. David Looff, child psychiatrist at the University of Kentucky Medical Center, has observed that eastern Kentucky people develop a strong pattern of dependency upon family and kin. This may have had functional utility in earlier times, but nowadays it tends to generate very complex psychological difficulties. The strong dependency pattern is often noted in certain mental cases that come to him at the Eastern Kentucky State Hospital where it and its related emotional problems are known as the "Kentucky Mountain Syndrome."[11]

The monopoly over an individual's socialization and social world that the family had, especially in the days when the mountain school systems were so inadequate, made it very difficult to reach the individual mountaineer and his children with new ideas. Although these barriers to effective communication still exist, the situation is changing very dramatically. Only a few years ago, we could write about the educational system as *the* great "cultural bridge" between the isolated mountain neighborhoods of eastern Kentucky and the Great Society.[12] Eastern Kentucky is now in a turmoil with all kinds of communication channels from the outside running into the area and so inundating the people with new ideas that they are almost "going down for the third time." Indeed, it is amazing how many changes have come about and how many new ideas are being absorbed by the mountain people. We used to say, for example, that the governmental system did not actually link eastern Kentucky communities very closely with the Great Society. We do not believe this can be said with the same degree of certainty anymore.

The localism so characteristic of the region is in many ways a result of the family's monopolization of the individual's allegiance. In some instances, family loyalty is so strong as to be almost pathological by modern urban middle-class standards. Loyalty to specific persons, even nonkin, is often very great, but loyalty to groups beyond the kinship unit is generally regarded as something to be avoided by most mountain people. It is difficult for programs of change to create community feeling or spirit, to say nothing of devotion to multicounty units or development areas.

Because the kinship system performs so many of the functions in mountain communities that formal organizations perform in urban communities, the pattern of formal organizations characteristic of American society is to a large extent lacking in Appalachia. Unfortunately, the familial system can no longer do all that needs to be done in a situation of rapid modernization. There must be wider loyalties, broader community groups, and formally organized pressure and power to maintain the momentum of economic and social progress within a framework of justice and stability.

We can also attribute the everlasting bickering, malicious gossip, and quarreling which are commonly observed in many mountain neighborhoods to, in part, the clannish nature of Appalachian families. Individuals have been taught to refrain from expressing feelings of hostility within their conjugal or extended family groups; to do so would be to violate familistic norms. Hostile feelings are consequently repressed, often to emerge with unusual and unwarranted intensity toward persons outside the family. The hot-temperedness of mountain people, an attribute that has been the theme of many stories and novels, is, we believe, closely linked with the nature of the Appalachian family.

Furthermore, the tight-knit kinship system characteristic of much of rural Appalachia tends to have something of a *caste*-like quality. It is exceedingly difficult for an individual to leave his family behind and to be evaluated on the basis of his own achievements. He is invariably tarred with the sins of his father and grandfathers and he must struggle long and hard to overcome that accident of birth. On the other hand, of course, if he was born of good blood his reputation and status are not easily eroded.

The extreme *personalism* of mountain people, a characteristic quickly noted by outsiders, is also derived from the pressure to maintain a close-knit network of kin. In urban America, people are evaluated, ideally at least, by *what they can do* rather than by *who they are*. It is not easy for Appalachian people to accept universalistic standards in evaluating either themselves or others, although the mountain culture does place high value upon material achievement and upon the worth and equality of every individual. Obviously, there are value conflicts in this emerging folk society, and one of the more fascinating clashes that will demand considerable program planning and research attention in the future is that between familism and individualism.

THE APPALACHIAN FAMILY IN THE MODERN WORLD: SOME ADVANTAGES

The Appalachian family is in certain respects quite effective in socializing and caring for its children, at least in terms of traditional needs and standards. Parents devote a great deal of time and energy resources towards performing that function. Within the family there is often less emphasis placed on the needs of the husband and wife than of "what is good for the children." Indeed, as we have mentioned earlier, responsibility for properly rearing the young is shared by the larger kin group and, as a result, the conjugal family is under pressure to care for its own in a manner that satisfies local norms.

To illustrate this point, let us again draw upon the experience of Dr. David Looff who has conducted a psychiatric clinic for children and their families in one of the more remote eastern Kentucky counties.[13] As opposed to what is often found in other parts of the nation, and especially in the urban areas, Dr. Loff has *not* observed a single case of infant autism in that county. This malady takes the form of a complete withdrawal, so that the child cannot be reached through normal interpersonal communication. Such a child cannot love and cannot be loved, and is almost totally inaccessible to his parents, to his teachers, and even to a trained psychiatrist. The fact that infantile autism does not exist in this mountain area suggests to Dr. Looff that the mountain child receives an enormous amount of affective attention by its family. He notes that the normal pattern is to pick up the child when it seeks attention, to comfort it at every cry, and to smother it with attention. As a consequence, children in Appalachia develop an affectionate nature and a warm regard for people. Thus, in effect, the childrearing practices characteristic of the mountain family run counter to those that might produce the condition of infant autism.

Similarly, the Appalachian family does many other things for its members that, elsewhere, might normally become the responsibility of various social and community agencies. Indeed, one might say that the Appalachian family functions as a very effective and efficient system of social security against the many risks that its members must face. In addition, it maintains a continuity with the social patterns of the past, thus providing the individual with a sense of certainty and a measure of stability.

As an effective communication system in many of the mountain counties, the family is unexcelled. We have often found in our field work, for example, that we need only tell one person a bit of "news" and, if he is a member of a tight-knit group, the message will be spread throughout the area at least as rapidly as it would have been by radio or television. Furthermore, the transmitted message has a far greater impact upon our audience, since it was phrased in the local language and received in a normal interactional situation.

One of the more important things about the Appalachian family, as far as both the country at large and Appalachian people themselves are concerned, is its role in the process of migration. This is not as fully recognized as it should be, although many sociologists have observed the phenomenon.[14] When mountain people migrate from the region, they do not go because they have learned of attractive job opportunities through the efforts of the United States Employment Service or some private recruiting agency; they go because some relative "out there" has written and told them, or has come back on a visit and told them, that jobs are available. If the job market is tight, relatives inform their young brother or sisters, neighbors or friends in the mountains that they are welcome to come out and "We'll help you look for something." If they migrate, they often stay with relatives until they are securely established and, thereafter, they become another link in the kin group's system of chain-migration. Thus, the family forms a bridge between rural Appalachia and, for example, urban Ohio. As a result, one finds clusters of people in Ohio or Indiana or Michigan or many other places in the Midwest who are from certain communities or counties in eastern Kentucky or West Virginia. Migrants from Clay County, Kentucky, for instance, prefer to go to Cincinnati, Hamilton, Middletown, and Dayton. Migrants from southern West Virginia counties go to Columbus, Akron, and Cleveland. They migrate to these specific places because of kinship ties.

For a number of years now, we have been intensively studying the stream of migration from an isloated mountain neighborhood called Beech Creek in eastern Kentucky. We were intrigued by the part played by kinship ties and the family group in facilitating the process of migration. We were also aware that Frederick LePlay, a French sociologist who lived from 1806 to 1882, had developed a concept which he called the *famille souche* or *stem family.*[15] This was a type of family where the stem "stayed put" back in the home community and sent out its branches, i.e., its young people, to the industrial cities. The stem family, i.e., members of the parental household, not only encouraged and aided the branches in getting settled as they moved out but also made itself available as a haven of safety or refuge if there were difficulties in the cities. Family members could come home and stay for a while, lick their wounds and then perhaps return to the urban fray. LePlay observed that the stem family form, as compared with other forms, was especially suited for a modern, industrial society; although it could accommodate rapidly to changing environmental circumstances, it was able to maintain the necessary degree of stability to provide for the social and psychological well-being of its members.

We pursued this idea in our case study of Appalachian migration and found that the Appalachian family, in many ways, operates as a *stem family system*. The migrants in the areas of destination and members of their family who remained behind in the areas of origin maintain a very cohesive pattern of interaction and, if necessary, of mutual aid. Indeed, many of the significant social changes that have come about in the mountain region during recent years have been channeled in by migrants bringing back and advocating new ideas, new values and new patterns of behavior. Furthermore, in the course of our research we became convinced that the Appalachian kinship system has in many ways contributed significantly to the adjustment of migrants and to their personal stability in the areas of destination. This is a tremendous contribution, one that should be repeatedly underlined because it is an overlooked and unappreciated function of the Appalachian family.

Even in this case, however, there are certain disadvantages discernible amidst the obvious advantages of familistic solidarity in the process of migration. For example, the tendency for mountain people to form tight clusters of relatives and close friends in southern Ohio helps ease the individual's transition from one subculture to another, but it also delays effective integration and assimilation into the urban community which, in the long run, may serve to dampen his relative ambition and pose a formidable barrier to further upward mobility. On the other hand, of course, the preservation of Appalachian traits may be a good thing, even if it does slow down the process whereby mountain people come to be "like everybody else" in their new urban homes.

In concluding this brief introduction to the Appalachian family, we would like to call attention again to a point made at the outset. Appalachia is a region of great social and cultural diversity and that diversity is reflected in the variety of family types that one can observe within the region. We have chosen to focus primarily on the family form characteristically found in the more remote, rural areas; even here, however, great variations exist. Hence, the distinguishing features of the Appalachian family which we have dwelt upon should be regarded as general statements about how Appalachian families have *tended* to adapt, or to accommodate to the realities of life in Appalachia. Indeed, one might say that the Appalachian family, as described here, represents a variation of the modal American family; both types have their value bases rooted in the same cultural traditions.

Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that Appalachian families are in some respects different from the kind of families one finds in urban America. Life in Appalachia, especially during earlier frontier times, made it necessary for kin group members to look to each other for many things and to count on each other in many crises. As a result, the individual mountaineer holds a deep respect and abiding loyalty to kinsfolk; that alone may be the key distinguishing feature of the Appalachian family.

There is of course a certain kind of social strength that emanates from the familistic orientation characteristic of mountain people. This has been noted by numerous observers. For example, Dr. Robert Coles, a well-known Harvard psychiartist, and his colleague Dr. Joseph Brenner of M.I.T. recently went on a field trip through Appalachia to explore the problems of unfortunate, deprived children in rural poverty stricken areas. From a newspaper account come these comments about their trip:

> They did find children in need of help. But they found other things.
>
> "We have to comment," they noted in describing the poverty of Appalachia, "on the difference between a (poor mountain) youth who may have 'little' in the economic sense ahead of him, but a firm idea of exactly who he is, where he comes from . . . and what he would like . . . and a (city middle class) youth who has a 'lot' (but who is uncertain) . . . about where he will go or what he will do. . . ."
>
> They found a "greater sense of family, of shared allegiance to parents and grandparents that somehow makes for relatively more cooperative activity, frolic and eventually work than one sees among many other American children."
>
> They found brothers and sisters living and playing together "without evidence of the charged defiant 'individuality' one finds so often in middle-class homes."
>
> They believe "A nation that knows widespread delinquency" and which has "almost made a virture of youth's rebellion and fast departure from home will be interested in what makes these Appalachian youth stick to the family and strongly want to return home if they do move away."
>
> The secret, the two men found, was that these young men and women have strong ties to cousins, to neighbors, to a host of relatives as well as parents. These ties come, said the psychiatrists, because "even before adolescence, mountain children learn that a family is no laughing matter, no temporary arrangement characterized by divorce, constant movement and a strictly limited membership, lucky to include anyone outside a set of parents and . . . a matching set of children. Kin-relatives of one sort or other—have a real and well-known meaning."
>
> "Since families mean a lot, in old age they continue to mean a lot. The elderly are usually spared that final sense of abandonment and uselessness so commonly the fate of the middle-class suburban aged."[16]

Without doubt, the tone of social life in rural Appalachia is marked by a strong sense of family. As the region experiences the disruptive strains introduced by the forces of modernization even more in the near future, that familistic orientation may prove to be the major stabilizing element, the individual mountaineer's *raison d'être*.

NOTES

1. Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), Ch. 4 "Kinship and the Family in the United States," 39–86; and Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (New York, The Free Press, 1954), Ch. 9 "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," 177–196.
2. Jack Weller, *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 1965). See especially the chapter on the Family and the appendix which gives a comparative summary of "Middle Class America" and "Southern Appalachian" personal and family life characteristics and relationships with others. We do not fully agree with some of the points made by Weller in this summary, but his discussion provides a good starting place for those unfamiliar with the region.
3. See Ch. 1, "The Region: A New Survey," 1–8, by Rupert B. Vance in Thomas R. Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1962).
4. This quotation and the data reported on fertiliy rates are from Thomas R. Ford and Gordon F. DeJong, "The Decline of Fertility in the Southern Appalachian Mountain Region," *Social Forces*, 42, October, 1963, 89–96, and Gordon F. DeJong, *Fertility Data for the Southern Appalachian Region 1930–1960*. KAES-RS 22, Rural Sociology Department, University of Kentucky, Lexington, July, 1963.
5. In 1960, the farm population of Appalachia constituted only 13 percent of the total population; in the United States as a whole, it was 8 percent. Although Appalachia has a somewhat higher proportion of people living on farms, the commonly-held notion that the typical Appalachian family is a farm family is not true. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that a rural farm background is characteristic of many people in the region; because of this, and because so many families continue to live as "rural residents," the structural features of the traditional rural mountain family have tended to persist.
6. These generalizations, and many of the others we make in this paper, have been derived, in part, from our own field studies in Appalachia, e.g., The Beech Creek Project. See especially, James S. Brown, "The Conjugal Family and the Extended Family Group," *American Sociological Review*, 17, June, 1952, 297–306; James S. Brown, *The Family Group in a Kentucky Mountain Farming Community*, University of Kentucky Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin 588, Lexington, 1952; James S. Brown, *The Farm Family in a Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood*, University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 587, Lexington, 1952; James S. Brown, "Social Class, Intermarriage, and Church Membership in a Kentucky Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57, November, 1951, 232–242.
7. Parsons often uses this concept, e.g., ". . . the feminine role is a conspicuous focus of the strains inherent in our social structure, and not the least of the sources of these strains is to be found in the functional difficulties in the integration of our kinship system with the rest of the social structure," *Essays . . .*, 194.
8. Parsons, *Essays . . .*, 89–103.
9. Note the point made by James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), 183–184.

   ". . . rural children and small town children of both sexes, for all the 'isolation' of rural life, know warmly more adults (though usually fewer children) than most urban children know. Through schools and parental interest, urban children are segregated much more rigidly than country children into very narrow age grades. Many learn to known intimately only two adults: their parents. This fact must be of enormous significance in the personality development of urban children and in their understanding of adult life in general. If the city child's parents are 'peculiar,' 'neurotic,' or badly adjusted to each other, then he must get a very strange idea of normal adult relationships. Country children in observing rather intimately the patterns of domestic and economic life in other families, have innumerable opportunities to correct through comparison any misconceptions of 'normal' family or other adult life which they receive in their own homes.

10. A recent article by Uri Bronfenbrenner ("The Split-Level American Family," *The Saturday Review*, October 7, 1967, 50, 60–66) begins with the sentence: "Children used to be brought up by their parents." This is a startling statement. Yet Bronfenbrenner makes a good case for it by suggesting that peer groups, television, and the mass media, as well as many other community agencies outside the family *now* greatly influence the socialization and rearing of children. But this is not true to the same extent in rural Appalachia where children are still brought up by their parents with the aid of kinsfolk.
11. See David M. Looff, M.D., "Appalachian Public Health Nursing: Mental Health Component in Eastern Kentucky," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, Miami Beach, Florida, October 26, 1967. Multilithed. Department of Psychiatry, University of Kentucky, Lexington. Also see David M. Looff, M.D., "Psychiatric Perspective on Poverty in America: Subsidiary Review of Mental Health Problems in Eastern Kentucky," a paper delivered at the Symposium of Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Poverty in America, University of Kentucky, Lexington, April 20–21, 1967, Multilithed. Department of Psychiatry, University of Kentucky Medical Center, Lexington.
12. Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Education as a Cultural Bridge Between Eastern Kentucky and the Great Society," *Rural Sociology*, 27, December, 1962, 357–373.
13. Schwarzweller and Brown, *Rural Sociology*, 27, and from information obtained directly from Dr. Looff.
14. See, for example, some of our own research reports: James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzweller, and Joseph J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem-Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play," *Rural Sociology*, 28, March, 1963, 48–69; Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Social Class Origins, Rural-Urban Migration, and Economic Life Chances: A Case Study," *Rural Sociology*, 32, March, 1967, 5–19; and Harry K. Schwarzweller and John F. Seggar, "Kinship Involvement: A Factor in the Adjustment of Rural Migrants," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 29, November, 1967, 662–671; Harry K. Schwarzweller, *Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study*, Research Report #2, West Virginia University Appalachian Center.
15. See Brown, Schwarzweller and Mangalam, *Rural Sociology*, 28, especially 62–67.
16. From an article by Ray Cromley, "Appalachia Lesson for All Americans" in the Lexington *Leader*, July, 1967. See also an article expressing similar ideas by Robert Coles, "Children of the American Ghetto," *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1967, 16–22.

9 THE OUTSIDER'S VIEW

LOYAL JONES

Perhaps the most misunderstood and maligned of Appalachian social institutions is the church. The author defends mountain religion in the face of several major misinterpretations. Loyal Jones is presently the director of the Appalachian Center of Berea College.

Mountain Review, May 1976. Used by permission.

Several writers have examined and written about particular groups or classes of people in the Appalachians, but inevitably their words are interpreted as being valid for *all* Appalachians. Jack Weller's *Yesterday's People*, David H. Looff's *Appalachia's Children*, John Fetterman's *Stinking Creek*, Rena Gazaway's *The Longest Mile* and Bill Surface's *The Hollow* are examples. This is not always the fault of the writers, who have carefully, for the most part, made it clear for the careful reader that they write about a particular group in a particular part of the region. However, the unwary and often ignorant reader may jump from the specific to the general. And in fact, some of the writers have extrapolated from a particular group to the whole mountain population.

Also, some of the writers, after explaining the situations and groups they are examining, proceed to generalize by writing that "the Appalachian" or "the mountaineer" or "the hillbilly" does thus and so, instead of continuing to remind the reader that they speak only of a particular group and situation. Furthermore, the groups and situations in all of the above books, and in a good number of others besides, are writing about people with great problems, who often are not coping with life's problems, who live in families and communities that are no longer functioning. Now, there are such people and there are such situations, and they should be written about and they should be helped, but it is a vexing problem when descriptions of the dysfunctional individuals, families and communities are applied to all Appalachians. This assumption by the public at large and more lamentably by the professors and journalists and other "thinking" people, has caused dismay and a great deal of bitterness among many mountain people, who may be poor, relatively uneducated, and troubled, but who nevertheless toil daily to support families, care for neighbors, strive to do the right thing in life, support organizations that foster better communities and working conditions, and who are certainly as intelligent as any other group of people.

No aspect of Appalachian life is more misunderstood and misrepresented than that of religion. Appalachians, like every other group, are a varied lot even if they have certain characteristics in common. Most of Appalachian values spring from Christian scriptures, yet all Appalachians are not particularly religious, and fewer percentage-wise are church members than is true in the nation at large. But that statistic varies from area to area within the region. Too many writers have talked of Appalachian religion as if it were the same throughout all classes over all of the region. Some have described it as if the people are all Pentecostals, while others have implied that all are Primitive Baptists. Now there are great differences between just these two groups, not to mention the differences among these two and the Methodists, Disciples, Presbyterians, Southern Baptists and the various other sects of Baptists, Churches of God and others that are too independent to classify.

Following are some comments that various persons have made about Appalachian religion with some attempt on my part to put them in perspective.

Dr. Victor Sanua, arguing against a colleague who suggested that psychiatrists might work within the evangelistic religious beliefs of persons with emotional problems, commented, " . . we can even sell our souls to the devil, which in this particular case is God. In this way we seem to perpetuate something I don't think we should perpetuate, that is ignorance and superstition."[1] The Appalachian poor were only one group in this particular discussion of poverty and mental health, so Sanua's comments are a condemnation of the religion of the lower class. He is one of many professionals who have attacked the religion of those they wish to help.

Nathan L. Gerrard in his paper, "Churches of the Stationary Poor," makes it clear that he is talking about a particular group, those who will not, and whose children will not, get out of poverty. He has concluded that the Pentecostal Holiness Church ministers best to their needs. But he appears incredulous that the people believe what they do, even though other devout Christians in other places and times and in better economic circumstances have been praised for a similar intensity of faith. He tells of six men trapped in a West Virginia coal mine in 1968 and reports that one man, rescued after ten days and asked if he would work in the mines again, said, "I'll have to go over that with God. Whatever His plans are for me, that's what I'll do." Gerrard comments also that the wife of another miner said "she never doubted throughout the long wait that her husband would come out alive because, as she put it, 'God told me that he'd be all right.' "[2] Gerrard seems honestly amazed that there are people who not only believe there is a God but that He speaks to them. He also comments that "These people believe in the reality of the devil, who is hallucinated in various forms. . . ." His assumption seems to be that no other groups still believe in the "reality of the devil" and that if this particular group thinks they perceive such a presence, it is evidence of an aberration in their minds. Yet the scriptures and many churches speak of the Evil One. Indeed, the devil has been the subject of a few good pieces of literature.

Gerrard goes on, "They prefer to seek religious fellowship in their own unpainted one-room frame churches, in abandoned school houses, in barns, in crudely constructed tabernacles, or in each other's homes."[3] He makes a point that some of these buildings are privately-owned, and then proceeds to refer to them all as "these privately-owned, unaffiliated mountain churches."[4] It seems logical that the people would meet with their own church, wherever it meets, rather than with another group just because its church buildings are finer. Most of us attend the churches to which we belong.

Gerrard concludes by writing, "We suggest that the rural Holiness churches are viable because they serve to alleviate anxieties generated by status depravation, guilt, illness, and last but not unimportantly, they supply recreation in areas of the region where recreational facilities are scarce."[5] Now it is quite likely that the churches do serve the needs that Gerrard lists, but it is strange that he did not also list something having to do with spiritual needs of the people, beyond normal guilt and anxieties about life and mortality that all of humankind feel. It is common for intellectual observers of all kinds to talk of religion only in clinical terms.

Bill Surface attempts to show that the hollowers (generalized to Eastern Kentuckians, mountaineers, and sometimes Southerners) are not really religious, and he employs the treacherous ally, statistics, to assist in this task. "People in the Eastern Kentucky mountains have been so suspicious of preachers that the first church wasn't built in the area until eighty years after it was settled. . . ."[6] Where he got this statistic will probably remain a mystery. He doesn't make it clear what date he supposes that the area was settled or indeed what area he is talking about. Except for a few, the main body of settlers came to Kentucky after 1780, and Eastern Kentucky was the last part to be settled. At any rate, his statement is false. Scalf writes that Baptist churches were being formed in Eastern Kentucky by Elder Daniel Williams before 1802. "In 1814 eleven churches, representing 403 members . . . met at Burning Springs Church in the present Magoffin County and organized the Burning Springs Association." He goes on, "New Salem Association was organized in 1825 at the mouth of Big Mud Creek in Floyd County, composed of the churches of Salem, Mud Creek, Sandlick, Stone Coal, Open Fork, Raccoon and Louisa Fork."[7] Asbury, the indefatigable old Methodist, was in Kentucky by 1780, followed by other circuit riders. It is true that many people met in homes for years before they built church buildings, but Methodist circuits were laid out by 1809 and districts were formed and functioning in Eastern Kentucky by 1855. The first Presbyterian church in Eastern Kentucky was apparently Bethesda, near Ashland, in 1819.[8]

Surface continues, "Despite enumerable revivals by the Baptists and other denominations dramatizing the widely accepted belief in the mountains, that anyone not formally saved is damned to fiery hell, only 15 to 20 percent of the population is currently affiliated with any church or religious denomination."[9] Brewer gives the figure as 27.1% for Eastern Kentucky and an average of 45.5% for the region.[10] Surface's purpose is to show that, while Eastern Kentuckians carry on over religion, they actually are not very religious.

Surface takes a dim view of the idea of God's calling a person to preach, an absolute prerequisite for many religious groups in the area. He writes, "But enough men persist that the Lord told them to preach immediately—even at the expense of quitting a job—that the Southern Baptists started the Clear Creek Baptist School at Pineville, Kentucky, for 'self-appointed' (emphasis mine) preachers over the age of twenty-one. . . ."[11] No one would take greater issue with Surface's condescending tone than Dr. Merrill Aldridge, president of the Clear Creek Baptist School, who has the highest respect for the called preachers, although his purpose is to help them to improve their education.

Surface is particularly critical of the more old-fashioned Baptists. "Appalled by the relative sedateness, paid preachers, and the prevalence of suits, neckties and even open-collar sport shirts (in Southern Baptist Churches), these worshipers cling to the oft-shouting foot-washing Hardshell, Old Regular, or Primitive Baptist churches which reject, as sinful, innovations ranging from musical instruments to neckties." Apparently someone was pulling Surface's leg. True, many of the Calvinist Baptists do not believe in using musical instruments in the church, because they are not specifically prescribed in the Bible and because they feel that the best instrument is the human voice, but I have certainly seen neckties and sport shirts in these particular churches.

Surface persists in his original thesis, that mountain people avoid religion. "Not even a combination that invariably converts men elsewhere in Kentucky—tenacious preachers, imminent death, and an avowed damnation to hell—induce most dying mountaineers to ostensibly repent."[13] Most writers, who have been concerned about mountain-style religion, complain that the people are overly concerned with personal, salvation, but Surface says that this is not so; most do not repent. He does not quote statistics on this point.

Jack Weller is one who is concerned about the real quality of the mountaineer's religion. "It is not that mountain people are anti-religious. They talk a great deal about religion, in fact."[14] He is not convinced about the depths of their discussions, however.

> As in his relationship to the community, he does not understand the concept of the church as a corporate community of believers, nor does he see the need for such an entity. Religion is an individual matter, just as are his other affairs. The purpose of the church in his life has seldom been other than to win souls to faith in God in a very personalistic way. He simply has no experience or concept of the church's having a mission in the world which might require the faithful to work together.[15]

The conflict is between the Social Gospel, a relatively recent development, and the ancient mission of preaching the Good News to the lost.

Some of the Calvinist Baptists are skeptical of worldly institutions, and are wary of being led into believing that one may obtain salvation by worldly labor. They know that Paul had stressed faith, which is an individual thing. They believe the old spiritual that ultimately "you must walk this lonesome valley by yourself." However, this does not mean that mountain people do not support organizations and get involved in social issues. Most of us are aware of the contributions of the following mountain church people: Ollie Combs, who stopped the strip miners and testified before the legislature to help bring in a major strip mine reclamation law; Elder Dan Gibson, who also stopped the strippers and, with Mrs. Combs, was a supporter of the Appalachian Group to Save the Land and People; Bill Worthington, a strong organizer of the regional Black Lung Association and its first president; and Rev. Tom Sutton, leader in the Knott County Citizens for Social and Economic Justice. But they did not mix this worldly labor with their spiritual affairs.

Weller is concerned about the individualism of mountain people, which he interprets as a selfish corruption of the American ideal of independence.[16]

> This individualism rejects all forms of discipline in religion. If a church does not suit the mountaineer by preaching what he wants to hear in the way he wants to hear it or does not give him enough opportunity to assert himself and be heard, he will quit and go somewhere else.[17]

Now no doubt some mountain people have behaved in this way, but is it a tendency of all mountaineers? Rejects *all* forms of discipline? Could it be that their sense of discipline is different from Weller's? Is church not a place where one can assert himself and be heard, or is this privilege reserved only for the minister in Weller's ideal church?

> Up many hollows, churches stand side by side or across the road from each other, seemingly glaring at each other and each daring the other to provide an adequate ministry with a handful of people, divided resources, and untrained leadership.[18]

One of the old-time Baptists might observe that the church is not the structures that face one another, and remember that "where two or three are gathered together. . . ." The implication of this passage is that the religious bodies ought to get together and adjust their theology so that they can worship together. This is a fine ideal, but it doesn't happen up the hollow any easier than it does on Main Street, U.S.A.

> In crisis of illness or trouble or when his own death or that of a member of the family seems imminent, he calls on God. Religion

> is a crutch for times of trouble but is not of much use in daily life.[19]

That which is a crutch to mountain people is a solace to others, it seems. Would Weller deny persons a religion that sustains them in time of crisis? I'm sure he would not. He is troubled that they are more religious in crisis than out. I had assumed that everyone is. I remember Aunt Susie Beech of Clay County, North Carolina, a stalwart Christian of over a hundred years, telling how her children and grandchildren had begged her to pray when a hurricane was ripping up trees all around them, and she replied calmly, "I have already done my praying." As to Weller's comment that mountain religion is not of much use in daily life, who is to judge? It seems a fundamental anthropological truth that people do not adhere to practices unless they serve a need. Finally, do Mainline church lawyers, bankers, used car dealers, contractors, and mining stock owners use religious principles in their daily lives to a higher degree than the mountaineers of whom Weller writes? I doubt it.

Of all the writers mentioned previously, the late John Fetterman is the least judgmental. In *Stinking Creek* he wrote:

> The mountaineer would like to have just one person—one day—come into his hollow and show some sign of approval of the way he has lived over the decades, and the way he wants to live forever. And not try to change him without first knowing him.[20]

It is not my intention to say that Appalachians are better, in their religious life or in other ways, than mainstream Americans, but I feel strongly that they are as good. We all know that there are some strange forms of worship in the mountains and some narrow-minded Christians. There are many who may have earned some of the criticisms that have been levelled against them, but there are others who are just as devout and just as ethical in daily life as Mainline Christians. I grew up in a pleasant mountain community among some good and devoted church members who were daily concerned about what was right and wrong. I have met many other exemplary mountain people—common everyday and sometimes poor people—who had a strong faith, an integrity and a spirit that impressed me. I think it is high time that writers examine themselves and their motivations more carefully before they write and consider the implications and results for the people they, without doubt, wish to help. Religion in the mountains, even for the non-church members, is a serious business. When you attack it, you attack the very essence of the spirit of mountain people. And aren't all expressions of faith legitimate, in a fundamental sense, for the people in their time and place and circumstance?

But here is the main point. People do not change because others tell them they ought to. People change for better or worse, especially in religious matters, when their circumstances change. Two many people for too long have blamed the economic circumstances, the personality and the ignorance of mountain people on their religion. It is an age-old custom of blaming the victim entirely for his condition. There are many and complex reasons why Appalachian people are the way they are, but whatever they are, this much is clear: religion serves a vital need for them in their time and place and condition. I say, it is time to get off their backs and work on the manyfold problems that afflict the very poor in the mountains. I say also that it is to their credit, as it is for troubled people elsewhere, that they have discovered or wrought meaning out of a frustrating and often baffling existence.

FOOTNOTES

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7. Henry P. Scalf, *Kentucky's Last Frontier* (Pikeville, Kentucky: Pikeville College Press), 1972, p. 237.
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16. Weller, pp. 30–31.
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10 THE BAPTISTS OF THE CUMBERLAND MOUNTAINS

LYNN C. DICKERSON II

The Baptists can rightfully lay claim to a majority of church-goers in the Appalachian region. Despite their great numbers, few outside of this denomination realize the vast breadth of sub-denominationalism within the Baptist label. This selection provides the historical background along with the contemporary beliefs of these groups. Dr. Dickerson was a Baptist minister in Wise, Virginia and is presently teaching English at the University of Richmond.

A visitor driving through the Cumberland Mountains may find the rugged terrain to be the most salient feature of the region, or he may find this feature to be the omnipresent coal dust, or he may find it to be the numerous little churches that dot the countryside. If the visitor turns his attention to the churches, he will discover that many are Baptist, bearing such names as Buffalo Ridge, Sinking Creek, Indian Bottom, and Long Fork. These rural churches, in contrast to the more urban Southern Baptist churches, may be Free Will, or Primitive, or even Regular Baptist. Moreover, although they share a common name, these churches have an identity of their own. Each perpetuates, in an association with sister churches of like faith and order, a tradition that was spawned in the great religious crises of American history. Each has withstood to some degree those forces which have shaped modern American Christianity. Each claims to be as distinctive as the period to which it belongs.

In order to understand the religion of these people, it is necessary first to know the people. Many are the descendants of Scotch-Irish and Highland Scot immigrants who came to America in the eighteenth century. These early pioneers brought with them a clan loyalty, a belief in self-reliance, and a passion for freedom. Leaving eastern Virginia to the aristocrats and wealthy tobacco planters, they plunged into the mountain wilderness in search of free land and the simple life.[1] Despite personal hardships and a hostile environment, they built their cabins and cleared the land. Other pioneers moved on to the fertile Mississippi Valley and the vast plains of the West, but these remained in the mountains that they called home. Unlettered, poor, suspicious of the aristocracy, they turned naturally to those with whom they had the most in common—the Baptists.

Appalachian Heritage, Spring 1975. Used by permission.

The story of the Baptists begins in Holland in 1609 when some radical Puritans, having left England to escape persecution, established a church which taught that "baptism should be upon profession of faith in Christ."[2] Upon their return to England some two years later, the members of this church became identified with the followers of the moderate Dutch Calvinist Jacob Arminius who taught that Christ died for *all* men rather than for a select few. Because of their belief in a *general* atonement, they were known as General Baptists.[3] The work of these Baptists grew, and soon there were a number of General Baptists churches in England. By 1715 these churches were strong enough to send several missionaries to Virginia. Robert Norden, one of these missionaries, is credited with establishing the first Baptist church in Virginia, probably in Prince George County.[4]

Another group of Baptists organized a church in England around 1638. These Baptists, like the General Baptists, believed that one should not be baptized until he had professed his faith in Christ; but they followed John Calvin, not Arminius, in their interpretation of the atonement. Because they believed that Christ died for only a select few, they were known as Particular Baptists. When these Particular Baptists settled in Pennsylvania around 1700, they changed their name to Regular Baptists. While the General Baptists were establishing churches south of the James River, the work of the Regular Baptists spread into northern Virginia. Eventually the work of the Regular Baptists far overshadowed that of the General Baptists in Virginia.

The most significant role in the Baptist movement, however, was not to be that of the General Baptists or the Regular Baptists. In his classic work on Virginia Baptists, Robert B. Semple speaks of a "third party . . . from New England" as having played "the most distinguished part."[5] Writing one hundred and fifty years later, Garnett Ryland states that this group "brought from Connecticut the message and the force and fire caught from Whitefield."[6] These people were the Separatists, or "New Lights," who earned their name by withdrawing from the established churches in New England when they were refused the use of meeting houses by more conservative ministers and congregations. Those who not only withdrew but also renounced infant baptism and insisted on being immersed became Separate Baptists.[7] Semple notes that the Separatists "permitted unlearned men to preach, provided they manifested such gifts as indicated future usefulness."[8] Ryland observes that they "emphasized the depravity of man, the atonement through Christ, consciousness of a 'new birth' and the baptism of believers as an outward sign of previous inward change." He also states that they were not averse, as were the Regular Baptists, to emotional reactions in their congregations and that these reactions included "tremblings, outcries, downfalls and ecstacies of joy."[9] All agree that this sect experienced phenomenal growth in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Needless to say, when their representatives began to preach in Virginia, they aroused the ire of the authorities.

Yet despite some theological differences, the Separate and Regular Baptists had much in common. Both groups, for example, were noncomformists and had something to gain in the struggle for religious freedom. Soon they realized that their similarities were greater than their differences and that they could obtain freedom to worship much more readily if they worked together. In 1780 the Regular Baptists asked the Separatists to cooperate with them more closely. In 1785 the General Committee of Separatists adopted a recommendation to unite with the Regulars. In 1787 the union became effective when delegates from both groups meeting at the Dover church near Richmond resolved "that the names Regular and Separate be buried in oblivion" and that henceforth they be known as the United Baptist Church of Christ in Virginia.[10] This body is now the Baptist General Association of Virginia, an affiliate of the Southern Baptist Convention.

In their simple theology, democratic ideals, and anti-establishment stance, the Baptists offered the mountain people a church with which they could easily identify. When Baptists churches came to the Cumberlands, they became the churches of the people, not of Tidewater Virginia. Their founding fathers slept in the Culpeper Jail, not the governor's mansion. Their ministers were dissenters, not priests of the aristocracy. But if the mountain people took readily to the Baptist religion, they had some second thoughts about merger. Although in 1801 Kentucky followed Virginia in bringing Regulars and Separatists together under one banner, many churches in the Cumberlands preferred to retain their original identity. Differences between Calvin and Arminius were not to be taken lightly. Thus even to this day the Regulars and the Separatists in the mountains perpetuate traditions that disappeared elsewhere more than one hundred and seventy years ago.[11]

The Regular Baptists have continued to look upon institutionalized religion with suspicion. They have no national body. Authority, for the most part, rests with the local congregation. They do have, however, regional associations of churches of "like faith and order" which meet annually to consider those matters which pertain to the group as a whole and to preach the doctrine of the church. On these occasions, an association may exclude one of its ministers for an infraction of the rules, or it may change the rules. It may prohibit members from bobbing their hair. But whatever they do, the Regulars cling to the teaching and practices of their forefathers as best they can.

Another function of the annual meeting is to set the time and place for the memorial services. This service, coming months after the deceased has been buried, is the official funeral. The date is usually late spring, summer, or early fall when the weather is most favorable for gathering at the cemetery. Several ministers officiate. Obituaries are published in the associational minutes and may serve as an opportunity to admonish the unfaithful as well as to comfort the bereaved.[12]

Local congregations meet for business and worship once a month, usually on a Saturday and Sunday. The meeting house is generally a simple, frame, one-room building. Furnishings within consist of pews, a platform, chairs, a communion table, and a pulpit. Sometimes pictures are affixed to the walls. A marker above the door identifies the church and may give the time of meeting. On the assigned date, several ministers will preach. Their sermons, generally Calvinistic in tone, stress the personal dimension of religion, particularly resignation to one's world. The ordinances practiced by the church are baptism by immersion, the Lord's Supper, and feet washing. In the latter ordinance, a member washes another's feet in a metal basin and then dries them with a towel. Ministers are ordained on the basis of a divine call to preach. After examining the candidate, a presbytery of the church validates the call by placing hands on the candidate's head.[13]

The Free Will Baptists, as opposed to the Regulars, put much more responsibility for man's destiny upon himself. "God," they insist, "has endowed man with power and free choice, and governs him by moral laws and motives." All events are present with God from everlasting to everlasting," they continue, "but his knowledge of them does not in any sense cause them, nor does he decree all events which he knows will occur." They would agree with the Regulars that man is a sinner and that it is the blood that Christ shed on the cross that washes away sin. They would reject the idea that this salvation is reserved for a chosen few. "The call of the gospel," they insist, "is co-extensive with the atonement to all men, both by the word and the strivings of the Spirit; so that salvation is rendered equally possible to all; and if any fail of eternal life, the fault is wholly their own." Although one may experience salvation here anyhow, there is no guarantee that the salvation is permanent. "The future obedience and final salvation of the regenerate," the Free Wills caution, "are neither determined nor certain." Only on the day of general judgment will a man know whether his faith and works have been sufficient to admit him to the joys of eternal life.[14]

The Free Will Baptist belief in a *general* atonement originated with the General Baptists who first appeared in England in 1611 and who later settled in Virginia south of the James. The first Free Will Baptist Church was originated in Perquimans County, North Carolina, in 1727 under the leadership of Paul Palmer who preached "free grace, free will, free salvation." Other churches appeared later in eastern North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina. By 1750 the membership was reported to be eighteen hundred; at the close of the century, twenty-five hundred.[15]

A second group had its origin in New Hampshire. Benjamin Randall, influenced by Whitefield, began preaching "a free, full gospel for 'whosoever will' " at the New Durham Church in 1778.[16] The association of Baptists to which Randall belonged became alarmed at his Arminian views and subsequently excluded him from their fellowship. Emphasizing scriptural regeneration over formal education as a prerequisite to entering the ministry and offering salvation to all who would accept it, he soon had a significant following. The name Free Will Baptist was given to his group through an act of the New Hampshire legislature in 1804.[17] As Free Will Baptist churches spread north, west, and south, they began to work together. In 1856 the fellowship was shattered by the slavery issue; in 1910 the northern group merged with the American Baptists; in 1935 after further attempts at regional organizations, various groups joined together to form the National Association of Free Will Baptists.[18] In 1961, however, a number of North Carolina churches withdrew from the National Association when that body in a punitive action removed five prominent North Carolina ministers from their national offices. At issue was the right of a North Carolina conference of churches to annual the "ministerial rights and credentials" of the pastor of a local church.[19]

In some respects the Free Will Baptists are rather progressive. They have Sunday schools, a youth program, several colleges, foreign and home missions. They have not, however, been able to give their members much formal education. Many pastors do not see the need for seminary training even if it were available, and it is not.[20] Some, moreover, have been reluctant to support colleges that do not concern themselves exclusively with the proclamation of the Word of God; others insist on a literal interpretation of the scripture. Thus the overall stance of the denomination, as the practice of foot washing would suggest, is relatively conservative.

The most conservative group, however, are the Primitive, or Old School, Baptists. They take their name from the practice of limiting their religious activities to those found in primitive Christianity. Hence Primitive Baptists oppose mission societies, Sunday schools, Bible societies, sectarian colleges and seminaries. They do not use musical instruments in their services; nor do they as churches celebrate Christmas. They, like the Regular Baptists, hold Calvinistic views of salvation and democratic ideas of church government. They meet once a month, usually Saturday and Sunday, to hear the elders preach. They baptize believers by immersion and discipline their members by threat of excommunication. They also practice feet washing.

Unlike the Regular Baptists, the Primitives did not become a denomination until the nineteenth century. It was at a meeting of the Kehukee Baptist Association in Halifax County, North Carolina, in October 1827 that a reaction to progressive trends in Baptist churches precipitated a split between conservatives and liberals. At Kehukee messengers from thirty-five churches took what the Primitives call "the first great decisive stand . . . against human inventions and worldly institutions." The second stand against "those unscriptural innovations" was made at a convention of Primitive Baptists at Black Rock, Baltimore County, Maryland, in September 1832. Conservatives had announced their plans to have their own convention earlier in the year while meeting with liberals at a session of the Baltimore Association. The "Old School Address" given at Black Rock sets forth the distinctive principles of the Primitive Baptists.[21]

The intense feelings generated by the split between Primitive and Missionary (liberal) Baptists is evident in the biographical sketches of Primitive Baptist ministers. "Elder Barton," R. H. Pittman writes, "does not appear to have ever been allured by the flattering pretensions of the various societies and institutions that were gotten up as auxiliaries to the church." Then Pittman states with a vengeance that Barton "lived before them, saw their rise and progress, and was present at the Black Rock convention in 1832 when they finally were scourged out of the temple."[22] Concerning Elder Wm. Hyman, Pittman notes that he "fought the great battle with the 'missionaries' and gained the victory by creating peace in the churches and drawing the line distinctly between Old and New School Baptist." Pittman adds the observation that Hyman "opposed to the last all men-made schemes intended to corrupt the gospel of Christ."[23] Not all the ministers, however, made a name for themselves by fighting the Missionary Baptists. Elder W. B. Sutherland grew up as a typical mountain youth in Dickenson County, Virginia, attending school for a few weeks during the winter and working on the farm the rest of the time. After his ordination in 1884, he served a number of churches in his area, often simultaneously. He also served several terms on the county board of supervisors and one term in the Virginia legislature. His sketch suggests that it is possible to succeed in the Primitive Baptist ministry without harassing the Missionary Baptists.[24]

If the Primitives judge others harshly, they are even more demanding on themselves. They, like the Regulars, do not hesitate to discipline their members for an infraction of the rules. In the minutes of the Baptist Church of Christ at Davis Creek, Clairborne County, Tennessee, a woman was excluded from church fellowship in 1802 for lewdness and disorder.[25] On another occasion in 1877, a man was excluded for dancing.[26] In 1891 a woman was excluded for taking communion with another denomination.[27] Other instances of exclusion are scattered throughout the minutes. Attempts at reconciliation, however, are frequent, and the congregation stands ready to welcome the penitent offender back into fellowship after he has made his "acknowledgement."[28]

Despite losses suffered when the Primitive Baptists withdrew to form their own denomination in 1832, the United Baptist Churches withdrew to form their own denomination in 1832, the United Baptist Churches in Virginia (Missionary Baptists) continued to grow. Having already changed their name to the Baptist General Association of Virginia by 1832, the United Baptists moved ahead after the schism with those innovations which had been anathema to the Primitives. Sunday schools, which had their beginning in Virginia Baptist churches as early as 1816, flourished in the urban centers. Boards were established to promote missions and education. By 1854 the General Association was supporting a Bible society, three colleges, and several missionary organizations.[29]

On the national level, these Baptists were participating in the Triennial Convention which had been organized in 1814 to implement a program of foreign missions and which by 1822 was also engaged in home missions and theological education.[30] Tensions between North and South, however, reached such proportions by 1845 that cooperation became impossible. In May delegates from Baptist churches in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia met at Augusta, Georgia, to organize the Southern Baptist Convention.[31]

In identifying itself with the Southern Baptist Convention, the Baptist General Association of Virginia became a Tidewater denomination. It inculcated the values of the planter aristocracy. Thus when it sent missionary preachers into the mountains at the close of the nineteenth century, the General Association came to the area as an outsider. It came as part of a larger movement to colonize the people of the Southern Appalachians. Along with the development of mines, coke furnaces, and railroads, came the educated minister, the church budget, Sunday schools, and missionary societies.[32]

What the Baptists from Tidewater Virginia found in the mountains was their own history. They met themselves as they used to be. The simple architecture of many of the churches, for example, was an outgrowth of the primitive conditions of frontier life. In describing an early church in east Tennessee, Samuel W. Tindell states that the walls of the first "meetinghouse" were constructed of "round logs cut from surrounding forests." The clapboards that served as a roof were held in place by weight poles "for want of nails." An open fireplace with a chimney of "sticks and clay" served to heat the single room. The door, put together with "flat-headed nails made in a blacksmith shop," hung on wood hinges. One small window placed "above the range of Indian gunfire" shed enough light for the minister to read his text. The seats, chestnut logs split down the center, had no backs. A rustic, "cross-legged," communion table stood in front of the pulpit.[33]

Sometimes religious revivals swept through the countryside. Unable to find housing within the walls of a meeting house, the crowds gathered around wooden platforms in the open air. The Cane Ridge Camp Meeting is an example.

> Somewhere between 1800 and 1801, in the upper part of Kentucky, at a memorable place called "Cane Ridge," there was appointed a sacramental meeting by some of the Presbyterian ministers, at which meeting, seemingly unexpected by ministers or people, the mighty power of God was displayed in a very extraordinary manner; many were moved to tears, and bitter and loud crying for mercy. The meeting was protracted for weeks. Ministers of almost all denominations flocked in from far and near. The meeting was kept up by night and day. Thousands heard the mighty word, and came on foot, on horse-back, in carriages and wagons. It was supposed that there were in attendance at times during the meeting from twelve to twenty-five thousand people. Hundreds fell prostrate under the mighty power of God, as men slain in battle. Stands were erected in the woods from which preachers of different churches proclaimed repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and it was supposed by eye and ear witnesses, that between one and two thousand souls were hapily and powerfully converted to God during the meeting. It was not unusual for one, two, three and four to seven preachers to be addressing the listening thousands at the same time from the different stands erected for the purpose. The heavenly fire spread in almost every direction. It was said by truthful witness, that, at times more than one thousand persons broke out into loud shouting all at once, and that the shouts could be heard for miles around.[34]

Frequently traditions inherited from the founding fathers were modified by conditions peculiar to the Cumberland Mountains. An example is the memorial service of the Regular Baptists. When the settlers first came to the mountains, transportation was uncertain and ministers were few. A family had to wait for the right time to have a proper funeral for the deceased. Snow and ice must melt, and mud must become dust before large crowds could assemble at a graveyard. But once the service was under way, it was a grand occasion for family and friends alike. After an extended, somewhat emotional service, the family returned home to share a "bounteous meal" with all who wished to join them. Sometimes they erected a grave house to protect the body from a mysterious "varmint" and the mound of earth from the elements.[35] Another example is the "ministerial tone" that mountain preachers have used in the pulpit. Deprived of clerical vestments and seminary degrees, the lay preacher had to authenticate what he said by the way he said it. Thus he developed a manner of speaking that was peculiar to preachers. Sometimes chanting, sometimes speaking with a whine and a sob, he soon convinced himself and his congregation that the spirit of the Lord was upon him. As the years passed, people became accustomed to this manner of speech, and they expected it in all their ministers.

Other characteristics which are typical of, but not limited to, the Baptists of the Cumberlands are a literal interpretation of the scripture, an inordinate emphasis upon church doctrine, and a disbelief in the salaried ministry. The rigidity of many churches may be attributed to an intense clan loyalty. It is not unusual for a church to require a testimony and a new baptism before admitting a candidate to full membership.

Thus the Baptists of the Cumberlands are neither as distinctive nor as similar as some would believe them to be. Their relationships to the past and to each other are complex. But in their quest for identity, they have preserved traditions that were forsaken elsewhere. It is this provincialism that is both their blessing and their curse.

FOOTNOTES

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11 OUR OWN MUSIC

RICH KIRBY

Country music is tremendously important in the lives of both Appalachian children and adults. Many feel it is presently being perverted by commercial interests in an attempt to appeal to a national audience. The author looks at the source of this music and defends the necessity of its preservation. Rich Kirby is a writer and musician living in Scott County, Virginia.

In 1916 an English scholar traveled through the southern mountains hunting for folk songs from England, and he found them—so many that his book, *English Folksongs of the Southern Appalachians*, has become a classic. Cecil Sharp found more than just songs; he found a culture

Mountain Review, Summer, 1974. Used by permission.

alive with music. In England, he recalled, only the old people remembered folksongs, but in the mountains:

> *I found myself for the first time in a community in which singing was as common and almost as universal a practice, as speaking. With us, of course, singing is an entertainment, something done by others for our enjoyment. The fact has been forgotten that singing is the one form of artistic expression that can be practiced without any preliminary study, and that it is consequently just as ridiculous to restrict the practice of singing to a chosen few as it would be to limit the art of speaking to orators. . . . In an ideal society every child in his earliest years read as a matter of course, and developed this ingoing capacity and learned to sing the songs of his forefathers in the same natural unself-conscious way in which he now learns his mother tongue. . . .*
>
> *And it was precisely this ideal state of things that I found existing in the mountain communities. So closely indeed is the practice of this particular art interwoven with the ordinary advocations of everyday life that the singers, unable to remember a song I had asked for, would often make some such remarks as, "Oh if only I were driving the cows home I could sing it at once."*

Sharp's book contains hundreds of beautiful tunes and poetic text, but there was more. He looked only for English material, and so passed over the vast amount of fiddle music brought from Scotland and Ireland, banjo music learned from Negro slaves and the powerful Regular Baptist church singing which apparently originated in the mountains.

People who made this music were like their music—individualistic, democratic, and self-sufficient. We don't need to be romantics to see in the mountains of 1916 a free and independent people with a stable culture that gave them the strength and vitality to stay that way. Today, living in the ruins of that culture with that independence only a memory, it would be good to try to analyze what happened to it.

People's culture comes from the way they live and in turn feeds back into that way of life. If you change one, the other must change with it. So as Appalachia was turned into a colony—as the people stopped being independent farmers and started working for wages—the old music was cut loose from its place and quickly began to decay. Cecil Sharp's co-worker, Maud Karpeles, observed:

> *It is surprising and sad to find how quickly the instinctive culture of the people will seem to disappear once they have been brought into touch with modern civilization . . . and the singing of traditional songs is relegated almost immediately to that past life*

> *which has not only been outgrown, but which has no apparent bearing on the present existence.*

What is not as obvious, though, is that our mountain culture was exploited in its own right, picked apart, and ruined just as surely as our forest and coal seams. Old time music was removed from its roots and nearly destroyed. It had been free—made by many and shared by all. Now it was being put in packages and sold. It is striking how this process went hand in hand with the opening of the coal fields.

Coal brought cash and jobs to a region that had seen little of them before, and it also brought goods that the cash could be spent on. Why is it that the new drives out the old? Why did people move off the farms to the coal camps? Why did they begin to buy clothes rather than make them? Or buy phonographs instead of fiddles?

The modern era of recording folk music began shortly after World War I, when Ralph Peer of Okeh Records came to Atlanta with portable recording equipment. A record dealer there offered to buy 1,000 copies if Peer would record the singing of circus barker "Fiddling John" Carson. *The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane* and *The Old Hen Cackled and the Rooster's Going to Crow* were cut. According to Peer:

> *It was so bad we didn't even put a serial number on the records, thinking that when the local dealer got his records that would be the end of it. We sent him 1,000 records. That night he called New York on the phone and ordered 5,000 more sent by express and 10,000 by freight. When the national sale got to 500,000 we were so ashamed, we had Fiddling John come up to New York and do a re-recording of the numbers.*

Soon many mountain musicians began to make records. Commercial music was not so exclusive then as now. A company might record and press 1,000 records and sell them in the singers' home area. Much rare and beautiful music of varied style and good quality was recorded in this way. One variety of music—the string band style of Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers had quite a following in these days, as instrumental music began to crowd out quiet unaccompanied singing.

The Carter Family from Scott County, Virginia became the first recording "stars" in the area. *Wildwood Flower* is today the most widely known instrumental piece in the southern mountains. Other stars followed the Carter Family—Mainer's Mountaineers, Charlie Poole, Jimmie Rodgers, the Singing Brakeman. In 1929 the Grand Ole Opry went on the air, certainly the best loved radio show in history. Week after week, superb entertainers like Uncle Dave Macon and Arthur Smith came into thousands of homes, entertaining families that ten years earlier might have been at barn dances or telling ghost stories around the fireplace. And aspiring new musicians now had as opportunity. Ten years earlier they looked no farther than the barn dance for an audience.

The lives of listeners was changing profoundly too. As many people moved into the coal camps, country traditions, like square dances and husking bees, began to wither. Working in the mines left little leisure for fiddling. Musicians by the hundreds quit playing and fell out of practice. A few became professionals and worked at radio stations (which are still today the first step up for hopeful musicians). Food was bought not made, and so was music, and gradually the record came to define *where* music was and *what* it was.

For the first time, young musicians imitated new styles, while older ones began to feel awkward and old fashioned. Then came the Depression, with desperate poverty and brutal oppression that smothered most of mountain music.

Traditional culture—the wholeness of mountain life was gone. The old music had no context—little meaning or social place. Traditional songs died by the thousands, record companies and promoters controlled popular taste, and hungry musicians tried desperately to please them. Mountain peoples' music, like their labor, was bought and sold on the market.

And it still is today. There have been few changes, except in musical style. Jimmie Rodgers and Hank Williams were the first Nashville superstars in the Country and Western style. Their heirs include such as Porter Wagoner, Dolly Parton, Merle Haggard, and country Charlie Pride. Their music orignates mostly from Nashville and dominates the mountains today. To play it proper requires good musicianship, lots of practice, and several thousand dollars worth of equipment. A second offshoot is bluegrass, which is considerably closer to the music roots in style and content.

It seems odd that the "music industry" can produce music that is so well loved as that of, say, Dolly Parton or Ralph Stanley. One reason it can is that the industry draws its entertainers from the working people of the mountains and the south—the very ones who listen to the music. And since most musicians with talent want to be stars, there's always plenty of talent begging to be tapped. Today, as in the past, Nashville draws the best of the lot. It seems, though, that once successful the singers are cut off from their roots among the people. Most Country and Western stars live in Nashville or California, and spend most of their time on the road traveling and performing. That is a far cry from the role of the musician playing for his family or neighbors after supper on the porch. Maybe the reason so many stars sing of being poor but happy is their nostalgia for their own past. It takes a strong person to become a star and stay common—not many can. Dolly Parton's *In the Good Old Days When Times Were Bad* is an example of this:

No amount of money can buy from me
No amount of money could pay me
To go back and live through it again
In the good old days when times were bad

A fair amount of old time music is still around in some places. There is still unaccompanied singing of old songs in the churches—the only place where this style of singing has survived. Religious songs are recorded and sung by stars, but there are songs that can be sung by all people—songs like *Amazing Grace* and *I'll Fly Away* are almost universally known.

Another way musicians get together is through fiddlers conventions and festivals. For many years non-professional musicians have gathered to play for prizes and just entertainment. Some of the music is bluegrass and much is old time. More recently, music festivals—some for just old time music, bluegrass and the newer kinds of music—have been established. There are performances on stage and people get together off stage to play. So far these events have pretty much been large one shot events, but smaller local gatherings are happening also.

The old traditional way of life in the mountains is gone. What is important now is not to try to bring back an old culture with old time music and the old time way of doing things, but to build new ways of doing things. Ways that we control. We need to preserve the old time music that is left. We need to have our own music instead of taking what Nashville sends us. We need to encourage each other to make music—to sing, play, and write songs. We need our own ways of distributing music—record companies, radio and TV stations that respond to all kinds of local music. Stations that won't take advantage of our people and won't make money off of our music. Companies that won't try to discover stars.

12 ON COUNTRY MUSIC: THE REASONER REPORT

HARRY REASONER

The A.B.C. News anchorman openly admits what many middle class Americans who like country music have failed to admit as fact.

People who listen to country music as I do are frequently a little bit on the defensive. Country has grown in popularity and infiltrated from

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the Southern juke box joints and the truck stops. But in most areas, it is still a specialized taste. You're especially subject to a supercilious smile or sneer if the kind of country you like is the kind generally described as Nashville. There are sophisticates who say it is all right to like blue grass or old-fashioned mountain fiddles but it is corny to like the rich commercial sounds of Nashville. I like Nashville. A friend of mine says he likes it because it is the only current music that tells it like it is. He says the music of Tin Pan Alley never did tell it like it is and if the music of rock is the way it is he doesn't want to be there. Country music, he says, is the only area left with enough self-confidence to be flippant about homosexuality, which it was in a hit of last spring called "My Girl Bill" and to reject the extremes of woman's liberation which it does in about every other ballad. But it isn't middle American either. What it is, he says, is bus stop America, the last refuge of an old restless drifting that is uncomfortable with both the old Babbitry and the new drab permissiveness. It is a peculiarly native combination of native sentiment and unsurprised cynicism about human affairs. I think he's right. Take two hits. One, the biggest of last season, was "Country Bumpkin." "Country Bumpkin" told the story of a bar girl with hard and knowing eyes who fell for a hayseed who wandered in one day, married him, had a child, and some years later died, feeling it had all been worthwhile. In the country audience, we eat that stuff up.

But take an all-time hit. A two record combination called "Mr. Peters." In the first record, a man singer takes a phone call from ostensibly his boss Mr. Peters, talks a bit, then tells his wife he has to go back to the office again. You have the feeling he's dissembling.

Sure enough, in record two, the wife, now alone takes a call. It's the real Mr. Peters and she says, yes, her husband has gone out, just as expected and they can meet in the usual place. We eat, that stuff up too.

Take those three records. It's sort of what America is all about.

Good Night.

13 APPALACHIAN WOMEN?

The Appalachian woman who comes to the city finds more problems than housing, employment, and education. She has to deal with blatant stereotypes that live in the minds of urban people. Most of these stereotypes confine her to some primitive, sub-human, and less than

Mountain Review, Summer, 1974. Used by permission.

intelligent creature who can't help herself because of where she came from.

Al Capp's "Dogpatch" in his comic strip is probably the longest running put-down of hillbilly women. Daisy Mae and Mammy Yokum have become the models for media interpretation of Appalachian women.

Daisy Mae is the young, innocent-to-the-point-of-stupidity, primitive female who literally bursts out of her patched and raveled clothing. Mammy Yokum is the tough, aged, toothless wonder who wise-cracks and is just as tough as the corncob pipe she smokes. The other women of the "Li'l Abner" comic strip are generally homely creatures whose only hope for happiness is the annual "Sadie Hawkins Day," which enables them to capture a man.

"The Beverly Hillbillies," the former television series, will live forever in reruns to fill the pocketbooks of the same people who were ready to ax "The Waltons" with an early low rating. Irene Ryan as Granny Clampett and Donna Douglas as Ellie Mae relive the models of Mammy Yokum and Daisy Mae, respectively. The transplanted Clampetts from West Virginia are childlike and lost in the "hills of Beverly." These women could just as easily have come from Capp's "Dogpatch," "Petticoat Junction," "Green Acres," or "Hee Haw"—all of which keep reappearing on reruns and syndication.

Is it any wonder that the inner city movie houses and outdoor drive-ins have a ready and willing audience for such flicks as *Hillbilly Hooker* and *Poor White Trash*, followed by *Poor White Trash II?* Appalachian women find ourselves the subject of pornographic stories and movies too numerous and unworthy to mention. However, the plot is predictable: the moonshiner's sex-starved daughter comes to the big city (with or without an unsuccessful marriage); becomes a honky tonk angel, i.e. bar fly, and/or go-go dancer; graduates to hustling and prostitution; and becomes the victim of beatings from various men, especially her pimp, as her wild, mountain beauty is washed away by alcohol and sin.

On the other hand, "The Waltons," a nostalgic family television show, is based on the real-life Appalachian family of Earl Hamner. The positive image of the women in the extended family roles is a fresh breath of air from the commercial put-downs such as "The Beverly Hillbillies." However, the hillbilly women in the city do not do the "traditional things" such as quilting, canning, playing musical instruments like the dulcimer, sewing miraculous outfits out of scrap materials, and humming hymns as they go through the day. They do not all wear printed cotton dresses, aprons, bun-hairdos, and no makeup.

Perhaps the public needs a movie or television series with someone like Gertie Nevels from *The Dollmaker*. Hillbilly women can probably more readily identify with the character of Gertie. It is a moving and positive, as well as sensitive, portrayal of a woman who moves to the confusing city world. She could be one of us—our mother, grandmother or other female relative. Gertie and her family face prejudice, hassles for money, insensitive institutions and the penalties for trying to maintain a unique identity. The issue of being true to oneself or changing to suit the larger, urban mainstream of society is one that builds conflict in her own family. As Gertie thinks to herself in the book, "What was the good of trying to keep your own (children) if when they grew up, their days were like your own—change overs and ugly painted dolls?"

Just as sad as the unreal stereotypes, there are the hillbilly women who find so much hostility and ridicule because of the way they speak, and dress, and even think, that they can be manipulated into deadend jobs which demand a high degree of conformity. The rewards of respect and a living wage are too often attached to compromise of ethnic identity. An Appalachian woman can change her speech to the "proper way" or be looked upon as quiet and meek because she keeps her mouth shut and won't speak up.

Appalachian women must feel secure about whom they really are to avoid a cultural split-personality as they face the urban mainstream society. We must define ourselves and not accept hand-me-down stereotypes.

14 THE MOUNTAIN NEGRO

PEARL CORNETT

There have been pitifully few studies of Negroes in the mountains of Appalachia, the prime one being Lynwood Montell's THE SAGA OF COE RIDGE. The following is by a black Appalachian who taught in the mountains of Kentucky during the era of racial segregation of the schools. He describes life for his people in a region over-whelmingly white. Mr. Cornett left the mountains in 1951 to become an arc welder in Cleveland, Ohio, until retirement in 1973. He died in 1976.

When we think about the Negroes in the mountains of Kentucky, it is only natural for us to think of the coal camps—the tiny shacks crowded closely together dotting the hillsides and hollows, where they resided, making their living by working for the various coal companies engaged in the mining industry. Generally, one would think of these

Mountain Review, Spring, 1975. Used by permission.

people as being contented, jovial, hard-working, heavy-drinking, free-spenders, and promiscuous. Grouping these people in this manner would be erroneous. For although it might be true of many, it would be false for many others. It would definitely be false for the Negroes I am going to talk about in this article.

The Negroes I am going to write about are the native Negroes who were here early and came in with the white man as his slaves. After the Civil War they acquired property, built homes, cleared the forest, and tilled the soil as did their former masters who were now their neighbors. These Negroes have the same last names as the native mountaineer, and I may add as an afterthought, some of the same blood. Some of the more common and well-known names being Adams, Combs, Cornett, Hagans, Higgins and the Olingers, who came over from nearby Virginia. I am going to write of the two most prominent of these families and their descendants.

The families will be one set of Combs headed by Big Jack and by his brother, Bill, who were born and lived in the nearby Hazard, Kentucky area. When they became free men they at first rented land from their former master. They later bought the land from their master, which was located at the head of Lick Branch and additional land on Curley Fork. All of this land is still in the ownership of their many descendants.

The Olingers, the other family, came from Virginia and bought land on Brown's Fork and Messer Branch. The Olinger family was headed by George Olinger and his wife, Drucilla. Much of this land is still in the hands of the Olinger heirs.

This set of Combs headed by Jack and Bill married into the Olinger family. These marriages resulted in many sets of double first cousins because sisters and brothers of one family had married sisters and brothers of the other.

Since I have stated above that to characterize the native Negro mountaineer with the general stereotype of coal camp Negro would be false, you might ask, "What are/were his concepts of life? How would you evaluate his attitude towards American ideas and standards?" I would make this statement that his value system concerning life would coincide with that of the average middle and upper class white mountaineer. He would be typically American. To bring this out I will discuss briefly the mountain Negro's ideas of education, religion, politics, prejudices, attitudes toward Whites, and the future outlook. I think one will find from reading this article that the mountain Negro is highly motivated, and determined to make his contribution to the American way of life by developing his talents and utilizing them to the very best of his abilities. Many of the descendants of these families mentioned above have left home and gone into other states, and have done unusually well in the field of education, business, industry, and farming. Others have remained at home as teachers in our public schools.

EDUCATION

The education system, in general, for Kentuckians in the mountains is now, and has always been, one of the poorest systems in the United States. If this was true for the white schools then one might ask what was it like for Blacks before school integration? I can only add it was terrible. In our general area there were no high schools for Blacks before 1930. If we received education beyond eighth grade we had to go away at our own expense to some other school. There were no Alice Lloyds or Alice Slones for Blacks in these mountains. Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, that was open to Blacks to help train them for productive life in a free society, was not allowed to do so due to the enactment of the Day Law by the General Assembly at Frankfort, Kentucky.

In spite of these education handicaps the mountain Negroes have produced in my family line: one medical doctor, a dentist, a veterinarian scientist, an engineer with General Electric, one college professor and many, many teachers. My youngest sister, who is now teaching and living in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is married to the executive head of the Child Care Department of that city.

In early black homes in these mountains only one child could expect any type of higher education. Usually that would be the one that was the brightest or most highly motivated. Today many of these descendants of these families are giving all of their children college educations.

RELIGION

The mountain Black, due to his hardships, has developed a strong faith and belief that God is the answer to his problems. This has been done in spite of his churches, rather than because of them. The average black church in the mountains has had very poor leadership. Usually the ministers, however highly inspired, had very little to offer in the way of spiritual and moral leadership. This has helped to cripple the young Blacks and has stunted their spiritual growth. The Blacks could not turn to the white churches because their doors were closed and still are, due to race prejudice. Also many of the white churches could not give any more moral or spiritual leadership than the black church.

One of the greatest indictments against the Christian religion today is the inability of people of different racial backgrounds to be able to worship together. We refer to God as our Father, but we cannot worship together as brothers. The television media does far more to portray brotherhood than do our churches.

POLITICS

In politics in these mountains the Negro's role has been that of being an elector, but never office holder. The only elective office that I have ever known a Black to hold in our area is that of County Coroner. There have been a few candidates for other offices, but none have been elected. I imagine this is due to three facts: one would be a poorly planned campaign, another would be poor qualifications, and a third, few whites would vote regardless of qualifications or type of campaign. I would like to see some of our qualified black citizens make more frequent efforts to serve the public by seeking public office. I would like to mention here that the time is ripe for the black people and fair minded white people of Hazard to press for the appointment of at least one Black to the police force.

BUSINESS

In business, from whence cometh the economic strength of any group, the Blacks are sadly lacking. In Hazard, Blacks at one time owned and operated certain small businesses such as barber shops, beauty parlors, restaurants, pool halls, and drycleaning shops. Today these are all gone with the exception of one drycleaning shop. Instead of making economic progress we have allowed whatever economic base we had to be lost. This was perhaps due to the decline in the coal mining industry during the forties, fifties, and sixties, when large numbers of Blacks left the mountains for greener pastures elsewhere. The solution to this problem would be in the laps of those Whites who own businesses. Since the Blacks are consumers, they should be hired into those businesses which have to hire people to operate them. The Blacks should be hired in white collar positions as well as blue collar.

THE FUTURE

I would like to close this article with some comments on "What is the future outlook for the mountain Black?" I would have to say the future could be a rosy one. With more integration, more opportunity should come to the Black who is qualified. This future lies with the Black youth. He is the one who must prepare himself for opportunities that present themselves. He must assert himself to see that he gets his fair share. He must forget his past role as first a slave and next a second-class citizen. He should realize he is an American citizen and, as a citizen, he should get what any other citizen gets—the very best the country has to offer. He must cease to be resentful and cynical about past history, make the most of the present, and work like mad for top positions in his chosen field—never, never looking at himself as in any way inferior to others. He should not become ashamed or discouraged by criticism of others, but should learn to compete with others for what he wants. To be able to compete in this world requires thorough preparation and confidence of the competitor.

15 BRIARS

FRANK MATHIAS

The derogatory term "briar" is used frequently by urban dwellers to describe recent Appalachian immigrants to the city. The author describes the problems of discrimination facing mountain people who choose to leave their region for a promise of better things in the urban environment. Frank Mathias, a native Kentuckian, teaches history at the University of Dayton in Dayton, Ohio.

Anyone driving through the seedy sections of large Midwestern cities will see flocks of towheaded children clinging to sagging porches and fire escapes, and often mingled like salt and pepper with little black playmates. Many of these flaxen-haired youngsters have a pinch-faced and undernourished expression that is almost a hallmark of such slums. Their names—Combs, Sizemore, Estes, Cornett—read like the king's tax list from 15th-century England. They and their relatives are white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, a heritage today abbreviated as WASP, and said by social reformers to give one special privileges and powers over politics and the economy. I am speaking here of Southern Appalachian migrants, and they stand as living proof that many WASPs have been as badly exploited in this nation as any other minority group.

One of American history's greatest migrations has been taking place since the late 1930s, when there began a mass movement of mountaineers away from the then newly mechanized coal fields and toward the wartime jobs and bright lights of nothern cities. Appalachia lost as much as one-third of its people in some areas. Meanwhile, most large Midwestern cities accumulated over 100,000 of these migrants, numbers of them now going into their second and even third generations. Such a massive inflow of people was bound to cause many problems.

The migrant was soon to feel the sting of hostility, some of it deserved, but most of it coming from blind prejudice or simple ignorance. A much nastier development came when some civic leaders

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manipulated this hostility into channels benefitting the Establishment. The migrants, derisively called "Briars," were and are lumped together anytime the need arises to explain away city shortcomings, injustices, or other pertinent problems. If "police brutality" is the issue, then "everyone knows the police force is mostly 'Briar.'" If racism is causing trouble, then the word is passed: "All 'Briars' are racists," or if the Establishment wished to condemn an old neighborhood for an expressway, or even to open run-down but antique houses for renovation by the wealthy "arty" set, this is easier to do if we learn that "after all, nobody lives there but 'Briars.'"

It has always been easy to tell the current status of hillbillies in Midwestern cities by listening to the jokes making the rounds. A recent one notes that the Coca-Cola company used to stamp "Bottled in Dayton" on the bottom of each bottle, but with all the Briars in town they had to change the stamp to read: "Open the Other End." It is a funny joke, but it and others like it still hurt people unable to laugh it off. And Dayton police, whom this author has instructed in Appalachian history and life for some years, can cite many savage fights and neighborhood hard feelings caused by such jokes. Moreover, these jokes keep prejudice alive and well by setting up a group image of "dumb Briars" for the oncoming generation. Finally, those calloused souls who think words could never hurt them, have never heard their children cry when teased by such jokes or called "Little Briar."

There is harsh reality beyond the joking as evidenced in a Detroit church bulletin: "Duplex apartment to rent. No Southerners, white or black, need apply." The word "Southerner" here really means Appalachian migrant or "Briar." We can sympathize with a landlord whose apartment may have been vandalized by sloven tenants who happened to be from Appalachia, but we cannot agree with his lumping all "Southerners" together as bad risks. Yet, this is the usual in the Midwest. If a family from Iowa moves into a suburb and throws beer cans all over the neighborhood, no one says, "All Iowans are that way." But let a West Virginia family do it, and immediately we hear, "Well, what can you expect from a bunch of Briars." In short, it is not hard to see why a recent hillbilly hit song is, "Oh how I want to go home from Detroit City. . . ."

Establishment use of "Briars" as "whipping boys" is as alive and well as ever in the Midwest. After a vicious murder here in Dayton last year, which involved race, integration, and busing, a local doctor was quoted in the newspapers as saying, "What could we have expected in light of the murderer's Kentucky mountain background." This of course eased the local conscience as well as kept the city's 60,000 Blacks from getting restive. Shortly after this, I appeared on a question and answer show over a Dayton radio station. Sure enough.

the voice at the other end of the first phone call said: "All of you Briars are racists, aren't you." The caller was only parroting what he had grown up hearing in Southern Ohio. The charge—"All Briars are Racists"—certainly needs investigating, at least in reference to Ohio.

We can start by admitting that some "Briars" certainly are racists, just as some are wife-beaters, or homosexuals, or have hammer toes. My contention, however, is that the mountaineers learned most of whatever racism they have *after* settling in Ohio. Look at the facts. The Buckeye State's racism goes deep in the state's history, for the 1803 state constitutional convention failed by only one vote to create a slave state. Race riots occurred frequently in the Cincinnati of the 1820s and 1830s, and 382 ex-slaves freed by Virginian John Randolph's will were driven at bayonet point from land he had purchased for them in Mercer County, Ohio, when they arrived to claim it in 1846. Moreover, the state's "Black Laws" gave pre-Civil War Ohio Negroes no more rights than Indians or unnaturalized foreigners. My point, then, is that Ohio has had a long history of racism, nor have things changed much in this century.

The great 1920s revival of the Ku Klux Klan showed by far its greatest power in the North, where it captured the state government of Indiana and boasted over 200,000 members in Ohio. In one infamous episode, the Indiana Klan leader bit his secretary to death aboard a train between Indianapolis and Gary! Here in Dayton an estimated 40,000 men belonged to Klan No. 23 and marched in the white robed ranks of the "Invisible Empire." And here also was published *The Kluxer* magazine. But where do the "Briars" figure in all this Ohio Klan race-baiting, and anti-Catholic and Jewish rigamorole? The fact is that they do not figure in it at all, for they did not arrive until the late 1930s! Extremely blatant racism was in full swing in Dayton long before the so-called "Briars" came here, or to Columbus, or Cincinnati, or Indianapolis or other Midwestern cities. Moreover, the mountaineer, never a "joiner," had paid little attention to the Klan efforts to make inroads into his Appalachian homeland. After all, few Blacks live there, for the area had few slaves prior to the Civil War. Most sane mountaineers simply found it difficult to get excited about Blacks, which they seldom encountered in most areas, or Afghanistanians (also absent), or Bolivians, etc. But once driven to the cities, mountaineers quickly learned the ins and outs of "racism." They often competed with Black migrants for the dirty and menial jobs available, thus they soon learned to exploit a foreman's contempt for Blacks if that would help them in their fight for survival. Some of course succumbed to racism in their own right, but the point is simply that most "Briars" learned whatever "racism" they now have right here in the Midwest's cities from native Midwesterners.

There is a widespread belief that "Briars" are a dumb bunch compared to Midwesterners. This does not really mean genetic or ancestral inferiority, for it is easy to point to Jefferson, Lincoln, Churchill and others who were WASPs just like "Briars." What is usually meant is that these migrants are bumbling, clodhopping "rubes," a title city people have assigned to farmers moving to cities over the ages. In order to counteract this, I administer a "Hillbilly IQ Test" to my student recruits in the Dayton Police Department. It is a test most hillbillies could easily pass, but one which these recruits and others who have taken it fail miserably. One would be laughed out of the Appalachian mountains, for example, if he did not know what a blue tick was, or a ramp, or roof-bolt, or carbide, or middlin'. And my city-bred students always miss a multiple choice question asking them to choose the color of a copperhead snake. They invariably choose every color but copper since it seems "so obvious," and, of course, because they have never seen a copperhead anyway. But these same students are quick to criticize "Briars" for failing to heed "obvious" dangers of dealing with loan sharks, or going to "obvious clip joints" in the city. It comes as a revelation to them to understand that if the tables were turned things would not be so "obvious" to them, and they might well die of snake bite as they innocently slid their hand onto a sunlit rocky ledge above them. In short, city folks, to tell the truth, are no smarter than mountaineers; they have just lived in the city longer.

It seems, in conclusion, that an extremely individualistic way of life that served well in the mountains, has usually left the migrants stranded in the interdependent, mass-organized, and materialistic society of modern cities. As an individualist, he becomes and remains suspicious of the seemingly impersonal or cold "outsiders" brushing by him so quickly in most relations of city life. "Why can't they sit a spell?" he wonders. And on the other hand, these dominant city people hope to make him conform to their "superior" standards, and this leads to further misunderstandings. In the background lurks a second and third generation of youngsters, most of them born in the city and many of them confused by the pull between their parent's outlook on life and that of their Midwestern companions. Over all, however, Midwesterners are a fine bunch, but so are "Briars," yet both could learn a heap from each other if they would only take the time to "sit a spell" and really listen.

16 SELLING THE MOUNTAINS

JAMES BRANSCOME AND PEGGY MATTHEWS

Money talks, and now the economic imperialism of the 1970s severely threatens a way of life in Appalachia. Recreational and second home development appears on the surface to provide a needed economic stimulus for the region while robbing the natives of their landed heritage. Mr. Branscome is a free-lance writer living in Sevierville, Tennessee. Ms. Matthews is working with "Save Our Cumberland Mountains" in Jacksboro, Tennessee.

If a man owns land, the land owns him.

Emerson

Men of Rome, Men of Rome! You are called lords of the world, yet no right to a square foot of its soil!

Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune of the People

Any area that wants to stop development will soon find itself a slum. What this county really needs is a great big airport.

Hugh Morton, developer of Grandfather Mountain

Where in the world can you find in one place, in one short week, Mickey Mantle, the ex-ball player; General Lauris Norstad, the ex-NATO Commander; General William Westmoreland, the ex-Vietnam commander; and Mildred the Bear? Well, last summer you could have bumped into them at Grandfather Mountain in Avery County, North Carolina, only a few miles from Meat Camp where Daniel Boone stored up the bounty of the wilds before heading out to find "the Second Paradise" of eastern Kentucky. For the mere price of an adventuresome spirit, you could have joined Daniel Boone in opening up the Cumberland mountains. For $105,750, you can join all the modern trailblazing notables in a condominium at Grandfather Mountain.

If you do not like the containment and pacification spirit of Grandfather, you can try the Hound Ears resort right down the road in Watauga County. For $1,800 a month, you can rent a two-bedroom apartment and watch Congressman James Broyhill and Duke University President Terry Sanford tee off on the green. If that does not suit either, then you still have the choice of several hundred other resorts, both larger and smaller, that stretch the whole length of the

Southern Exposure, Fall 1974. Used by permission.

Appalachian Mountains. You can take your pick of owner-developers like Jackie Gleason, Art Linkletter, Sam Snead, Eddie Albert, John Lindsay, Jim Walter, or Senator Bill Brock.

What are $100,000 condominiums doing in a region where per-capita income hovers close to $1,000 and where from 40 to 60 percent of the housing in some rural counties does not have indoor plumbing? The answers are eerie. Maybe a poet could do more justice than these writers to an explanation of Gen. William Westmoreland's ownership of a condominium at Beech Mountain in "The Land of Oz." We resisted the temptation to write about the Wicked Witch of the West and the Tin Man and the Cowardly Lion and the Scarecrow. The realism of a paleface "trail of tears" is enough for us.

I.

In 1944, an official publication of the U.S. Department of Agriculture observed:

> This Appalachian section comes as near to having a culture of its own as any section in the U.S. Its culture is old, in terms of our history, and is stable. That is why it is unique and why it seems odd to many people. But who is to say that it may not be as great a loss to lose the culture which was built by our pioneers as it is to lose our original topsoils?

In 1972, the National Endowment for the Humanities could not quite muster such accuracy or sympathy in its description of Georgia mountaineers:

> We all profess to love liberty, but these people take their liberty seriously. They don't buy food; they shoot, grow, or catch it. Few have running water or electricity in their cabins, and most have less than a fifth-grade education. Family and kinship ties are strong here; it is common for three and four generations to live together. They have no social consciousness in the modern sense—but when one man's barn burns down, every man in the vicinity shoulders his axe and hikes through the woods to help build a new one.[2]

Paradoxically, one statement is part of a sincere effort to describe mountain folks, while the other is slop poured out by a new generation of "progressive" federal bureaucrats and educators to justify the Hugh Mortons and General Westmorelands of the development world who hold to the novel theory that mountaineers have to be destroyed to be saved. Morton actually suggested that maybe some way should be found to preserve the "rare mountaineers" in the same fashion as "we have done with the bear preserve at Grandfather Mountain." He made the statement at Apalachian State University at Boone, N.C., on June 25, 1973. None of the resort-promoting professors at ASU batted an eye. Some even applauded the statement. The developers and the government share in common the view that anything as rough as a mountaineer and a mountain need and deserve an invasion of resorts and second homes—a kind of "Upward Bound" program on a regional scale.

It was actually the federal government, spurred by the generosity of the Rockefeller family, which got the mountains into the tourist entanglement in the first place by promoting the Great Smoky Mountains into the most visited national park in the country. The park's eight million yearly visitors and 512,655 acres of mountain land—all close to TVA's one million federalized acres—make the mountains prime rape territory. Combine that with messages like this one posted in the park, and it's easy to see where the developers get their ideas about the desirability of reducing mountaineers to mere tenants:

> About 100 families lived in Cades Cove at the time the park was established. To maintain the open fields and to preserve other features of this unusual pioneer community, a number of farmers have been allowed to remain under special permits. Some of these leaseholders are descendants of early settlers. A few are members of families which have lived and worked in the cove for more than a century.

Other government signs—like the one on the West Virginia border which greets visitors with "Welcome to West Virginia, the Switzerland of North America"—have been getting more attention lately as mountaineers begin to reflect on the contrasts between resources-rich and poverty-ridden Appalachia and resource-poor but affluent adjacent regions. Joe Begley, the chairman of the Citizens' League to Protect the Surface Rights in Letcher County, Kentucky, states the problem very succinctly: *"We folks in Appalachia are sitting on a gold mine and starving to death."* Despite a decade of poverty war, labor turmoil, and a new awakening of Appalachia's people, the "gold mine" is further depleted and, according to the latest social and economic statistics released by the Appalachian Regional Commission in June of 1972, the people have gained nothing. As a matter of fact, relative to the nation's prosperity, the mountaineer is worse off today than he was ten years ago. More mines are closed, more hundreds of thousands of acres of land are forever barren from strip mining, more small farmers have been forced into migrating or onto welfare rolls, and people throughout Appalachia have found themselves face-to-face with a bureaucratic system—both governmental and corporate—that seems bent on removing them from their land.

II.

No one has done more to hold Appalachian life up for national ridicule than the producers of the, "Beverly Hillbillies," "Green Acres," and "Hee Haw." It is no surprise, therefore, to find this brochure being handed out to tourists flocking into the Great Smokies through the Asheville, N.C., airport:

> Hello! I'm Eddie Albert . . . and I want to personally invite you to see my new film about the "Un-City" . . . Connestee Falls. As you may know, I have been involved in the fight for the preservation of our environment for many years. I am proud to be associated with Realtec Incorporated, the developers of Connestee Falls, because here in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, Realtec is creating an Un-City: uncrowded, unhurried, unpolluted.
>
> I sincerely want you to see my film about this remarkable environmental achievement.
>
> Signed: Eddie Albert
> Star of "Green Acres"

Connestee Falls, and dozens of new developments like it in the North Carolina Blue Ridge, may be an "Un-City" to Eddie Albert, but to the farmers of the mountains, it is an intrusion, the kind of intrusion that has driven the price of marginal farm and timber land from a low of $100 an acre to a whopping $1,000 an acre in a half-decade. Rough, undeveloped land in Macon County, N.C., goes for as high as $5,000 per acre, and near the second-home center of Highlands, it reaches $20,000 if water and sewers are available. In Madison County, which has few developments, land is already selling for $1,000 an acre, "and that's for straight up-and-down land," says one resident. A three-quarter-acre lot in highly developed Watauga County can go for $6,000 and still be considered "a darn good buy." With land prices—and the commensurate property taxes—so high, it's easy to see how the dream of a mountain farmer to have at least one son stay home to till the soil has changed to the nightmare that he may not even be able to maintain the farm for his own retirement. Sons and daughters of subsistence farmers along the Blue Ridge Parkway in Virginia, have been returning home lately to learn that the Groundhog Mountain Development Corporation, a firm that sells lots to professional people from North Carolina cities, has used high-pressure tactics to force their parents to sell family land. According to Larry Bowman, a law student at Wake Forest and a native of the area, "These old folks—many of whom can't read and write—believe that they are only leasing, not selling their land to these corporations. Others are so poor that the promise of a new roof or some worthless gratuity is traded for a small-print contract that in effect amounts to the theft of the land."

Only a few miles further down the Blue Ridge Parkway in Carroll County—the county that Mike Seeger says "has best preserved all those things that make up the Appalachian culture"—another firm is building, of all things, a ski resort. The headline in the Carroll *News* on December 8, 1972, proclaimed, "Cascade Mountain—New Way of Life," and continued, "First there was Beech, then Sugar, and now Cascade. Yes, Cascade Mountain Resort will have one of the finest ski slopes in southwestern Virginia." As one of its "many features" the ski resort will have an "Olympic Village" with a lodge and motel named "Liebenschuen," and, of course, a country store.

Thanks to such developments, the price of farm land in Carroll County is far beyond the means of farmers to buy it. An eighty-acre farm in Carroll, for example, was recently offered for public auction—something that mountaineers have traditionally done when there are several heirs to a farm and the community is in need of a social event. The hope has always been that one of the family or a close neighbor would "buy the old homeplace." This farm was privately offered by the heirs to a local man for $7,500, a figure that he considered excessive and rejected. At the public auction, flooded by land speculators and professionals from North Carolina in search of a "second home," the farm brought $20,000. A few weeks later one-half of it was sub-divided and sold for $40,000 — $40,000 for a hillside that once grossed only a crop of wheat sufficient for the family's bread, pasture for four cows for the family's milk, and a few cord of pulpwood to be sold to "put the kids in school."

Carl Salmons, a small dairy farmer whose farm borders on the one mentioned above says, "These people from North Carolina now own land on all four sides of me. I guess I'm next." The Salmons are one of four families in the same hollow who have not sold out. Land speculation, urban affluence and over-crowding, and the decline of small farmers, have led to a situation where the right to be a hollow dweller—as most mountaineers have been for centuries and want to be now—carries with it the attendant obligation to be rich, an obligation that few mountaineers can meet. Even after folks leave their homes to join the swelling numbers living in mobile homes (mountaineers bought half the trailers sold in America last year), the developers continue to intrude in their lives. Hugh Morton is now leading a campaign to rid the mountains of the "visual pollution" of trailers by demanding that "mobile home dwellers should not be given bank loans."

The developers' intrusions penetrate all levels of mountain society. Mountain women become summer maids, mountain farmers become caddies, mountain politicians become lackies, and a whole style of life begins to change. Farmers who never locked their smokehouses, bar them tight. Local ministers, content with the usual homilies, turn to the evils of the Hugh Mortons promoting liquor by-the-drink. Local newspaper editors, like Bob Satterwhite of the Asheville *Citizen-Times,* begin turning out stories that end up in development brochures. And regional universities start turning our reports and holding conferences to legitimize the new style of "progress." Leading the field is Appalachian State University, whose own in-house resort promoter, Dr. Leland L. Nicholls, writes memos to his bosses with paragraphs like these:

> The possibility of a world in which only a minority need to work in order to keep the majority in idle luxury is rapidly being accepted by many members of the academic community as being a realistic phenomenon approaching our society within the very near future. Obviously, the impact of the "age of leisure" will likely have far-reaching effects upon many aspects of North American cultures. Probably one of the nodal points of this impact will be at the currently recognized tourist-recreation regions. Because Boone is a viable part of the complex, it may well be worth the effort of the Planning and Zoning Education Program at ASU to sponsor a workshop entitled "Planning a Tourist Region for the Age of Leisure."

Needless to say, Nicholls suggests that only "local and regional leaders in the industry of tourism and recreation" be invited to participate. There are some academics in the region not so closely tied to the developers, but most cannot cope with the recent threat of Dennis Lehman, a land planner for the Carolina-Caribbean Corporation: "I can take and meet every control of the subdivision laws and still build the biggest hodge-podge in the world."

III.

Why are the developers' intrusions welcomed by so many communities? The answer, in a word, is money. Local officials contend resorts will provide just the lift their sagging economies need: more jobs, increased business income, and a broader tax base. But, on close view, the evidence itself contradicts such claims: resorts and mountain subdivisions are not improving the economic well-being of mountain people.

Take jobs, for example. A report by Robert Nathan Associates prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission points out the erratic and marginal character of employment created by second-home developments and tourism:

> The concentration of food, lodging, and amusements largely defines the local impact of tourist recreation. These are, for the most part, small sectors of the economy. In West Virginia, for example, these three sectors, while they accounted for more than $150 million of business (local and "export"), occupied, in all, about 20,000 people (including 4,000 proprietors) in a total labor force of 590,000.

As the report goes on to document, those jobs which are supported by the resort trade are precisely the lowest paying in the community: service workers in restaurants, fast-food establishments, hotel-motels, and amusement complexes. An official at Carolina-Caribbean's Beech Mountain admits that 70 percent of their employment is unskilled, and nearly all of it fluctuates with the seasons. The adverse impact of such shifts on a community—and on an individual's income—is illustrated by the employment pattern in the old resort town of Highlands, N.C. During the summer months, the township swells from 2,000 to 20,000 people, and many women leave their jobs in the nearby clothing factory to work as maids for the country clubs; when summer ends, they either return to the factory or remain out of work.

From the perspective of the local businessman, the disruption of the clothing factory is just one aspect of how little hometown companies may benefit from the influx of resorts. Outsiders control larger and larger chunks of the local economy, and, invariably, the developers themselves corner the service-oriented businesses which benefit from the low-wage labor. Beech Mountain in Banner Elk, N.C., not only provides a restaurant and inn for day-to-day tourists, and chalets for the weekly or monthly resident, but also maintains a gas station, pizza eatery, cheese shop, 7-11 store, furniture shop, two clothing stores and a church. With all that on the mountain, there's no reason to go into town to spend your dollars. Though perhaps extreme, Beech is no exception. Sapphire Valley in Jackson County, N.C., has the historic Fairfield Inn. Seven Devils near Boone offers the convenience of a restaurant and lodging at their Inn of Seven Devils, while the Mountains Resort in Rutherford County has its own construction crew for homesite development and plans a shopping center with restaurants on the shores of Lake Lure.

Ironically, local resort owners who don't have the capital to invest in such frills—or the slick campaigns to promote them—are losing their businesses to giants like Realtec, Inc. With offices in Greenville, S.C. and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, Realtec is just part of a larger conglomerate, Certain-teed, Inc. Through its parent, Realtec can control and profit from all phases of its developments, from ground-breaking to road building, to manufacturing bathroom fixtures and installing roofs, to financing the mortgage loans. As real estate development in the mountains continues, integrated, multi-million dollar corporations like Certain-teed are likely to increase their domination of the market. The results won't be the kind of stimulation of local business some county officials claim, but a new flow of dollars from the community to the outsider's corporate headquarters.

Among the many corporate developers who are moving into the mountains are:

General Development Corporation of Miami, Florida, one of the largest subdividers in America, now owns 19,200 acres near Crossville, Tennessee.

Nearby, *Firestone Tire and Rubber* recently purchased 15,300 acres.

Liberty Life Insurance Company of South Carolina is the new owner of 20,000 acres in Transylvania and Jackson Counties, N.C.

Sea Pines Company, the developer of South Carolina's Hilton Head Island, has bought 7,000 acres for a development at Nantalahala Lake in western North Carolina.

First Communities Corporation, from Sarasota, Florida, is developing 1,400 acres on Lake Lure.

Gerald H. Gould and Jim Walter (president of Jim Walter Corporation and *Jim Walter Homes*, Inc.) from Tampa, Florida, bought 3,078 acres bordering the Pisgah National Forest and have begun dividing the area into 5-acre homesites under the project name Catawba Falls.

Carolina-Carribean Corporation has announced plans to develop 400 acres on Rich Mountain in Watauga County.

Once these companies begin invading the mountains with their vast sums of money, land prices, already inflated, begin to skyrocket. Speculation becomes the name of the game. Lots are sold for their investment value, rather than for actual use for building a second home. Buyers are lured in by the spiralling land prices, speculating that they can get in early and sell later when the prices peak. A Beech Mountain salesman doesn't mind admitting that 70 per cent of their business is with people who buy land for its investment value. At Seven Devils, a few miles away, sales to speculators account for 90 per cent of the development's business. And if the land seems to lack potentials, a smooth real estate agent—like one we met in Jackson County—may try using a sinister smile and this twisted line: "The land isn't ripe for development now, but that just makes it a better investment for the future."

As the cycle of speculation continues, prices are bid up, out of sight of any local people, even local realtors. Outside corporations hustle the outside investor who hopes to sell the land to another outsider at an even higher price. In older second home centers like Gatlinburg, Tennessee, and Highlands, North Carolina, 75 per cent of the land is now owned by people living outside the immediate county, with the highest number from Florida. Transylvania County, N.C., with already one-third of its land controlled by the Federal Government, has another eleven per cent owned by resort developers and speculators, leaving barely more than half the land in the hands of local people.

The temptations to sell are immense, and many mountaineers, especially younger ones, are selling their family land for a fat profit. Those who want to stay find it increasingly difficult because the developers have forced land values, and consequently property taxes, through the roof. Bob Leak's father-in-law is typical. A retired state highway engineer on a pension, he now faces an annual property tax bill of $8,000 for the 200 acres he owns near the rapidly commercialized area of Boone, N.C. "He wanted to hold onto it for his grandchildren," says Bob, "but now he is having to sell off lots for residential and commercial development. He's real sad about it." So far he's sold 125 acres; where he once grew his family's food, there now stands a Southern Bell Telephone office building and two gas stations.

IV.

Broadening the tax base was another of those rationales the officials gave for welcoming the developers. But the example of the Boone farmer illustrates what is really happening. Instead of increased taxes from developers, speculators, or commercial businesses lightening the load for the local citizen, in fact, the reverse is the case. The newcomers' demand for governmental services of all types, from hospitals and schools, to roads and sewers, has far outdistanced their contribution to the public treasury. The long-time resident is forced to subsidize the very developers who would run him off his land, as a report from the North Carolina Office of Planning makes plain:

> Admittedly, increase in land values/prices can also increase the revenue generated by local governments by increasing tax bases. However, it is not certain whether this increase would offset non-land increases in capital and operating costs. If the tax base does not increase rapidly enough then the local governments are forced to either increase tax mileage or forego some public services. Whether the mileage is increased or the tax base is increased, the effect on the taxpayer is likely to be the same—higher taxes. In this case, current residents of counties, and, to a lesser extent, municipalities, are partially subsidizing the costs of the resort development because all taxes will increase to one degree or another for all taxpayers.

Road maintenance alone places a significant burden on the local resident as traffic to and from resorts increases; but the injustice of financing such maintenance continues to go uncorrected. In the typical mountain state, the government allocates money for road maintenance according to the number of citizens and miles of road in the county. But second-home owners don't count as citizens, and the roads inside the private developments aren't included in the mileage totals, even though counties invariably take responsibility for at least part of their upkeep. So county funds are spread thinner to meet the repair demands, or the roads are left at a lower level of quality. In some cases, resort dwellers even get better treatment than the mountaineers. "New residents holler the loudest," says the road superintendent in Sevier County, Tennessee. "We have to go in there and provide at least a minimum of service, even if it's a little gravel"—which, of course, would be a luxury to many local citizens who have hollered for years.

In a number of areas, hospitals built and operated from tax dollars are now insufficient to care for the influx of seasonal tourists, or the resorts' permanent, generally older, residents. Banner Elk hospital, with a capacity of 150 beds, can't cope with the combined needs of nearby Beech Mountain, Sugar Mountain, and Grandfather Golf and Country Club. Gatlinburg already sends patients to Knoxville during its peak tourist months. And a town near the Crossville, Tennessee, resort of Fairfield Glade plans to build a second tax-supported hospital since the one it just completed didn't anticipate the increased demand from the resort.

Perhaps least easy to correct are the problems these new developments cause for the public's water and sewage systems. High-density, "planned" communities can literally overload a town's sanitation system and water supply. A recent study from the University of Tennessee, for example, points out that Cumberland plateau, a headwater region, may not be able to provide water to the present population, let alone to million-dollar resorts like Fairfield Glade. Private septic tanks won't solve the problem of sewage in many areas, according to other studies, because poor drainage will lead to pollution of streams that others depend on for their water. In some cases, particularly with small developers operating a quick-profit scheme, sewage is dumped directly into streams. The disruption of long-established water holes and streams is far from the developers mind as they peddle their properties, although most of them capitalize on the environmental interest of their potential buyers. Thus Realtec, Inc., offers this guarantee: "In any residential-resort community development created by Realtec, we pledge that nature shall not surrender to man, but that man shall enhance, preserve and protect nature, our inheritance, with all resources at our command." Platitudes aside, Transylvania County had to enact a soil control ordinance last year to prevent further destruction of streams and mountainsides by Realtec's Connestee Falls development. The situation and erosion caused by construction of the golf course and five lakes on the property had extensively damaged county streams and the property downstream. The theme is repeated throughout the mountains. "Most of the pollution in our area is caused by developers, by the sedimentation from their projects," concurs a county soil conservationist in Macon County, N.C. And in Rabun County, Georgia, the giant Screamer Mountain development has caused individuals' wells to dry up because the resort diverted the water flow from the mountain. Even higher taxes from the developers will not restore the water table or woodlands which local people depended upon for survival. Artificial support systems will become a necessity for the oldtimer as well as the second-home owner, and the tax burden of supplying them will drag both groups down together.

Few regulations exist to protect the area's residents from the destruction of their water sources, their mountains, their roads, or their livelihoods. But by the same token, few laws protect the new owner of one of the quarter-acre plots that are hawked away with glowing promises of recreational delights and scenic charm. It is not unusual for a project developer to go bankrupt or skip town. As Jerome Dobson of the University of Tennessee explains, these ventures are designed to start getting high rate of return after the initial stage of development is over and the monthly payments start coming in. The quality of the homes, sewage system or water supply may not become apparent until the developer is long gone — with the newcomer joining the older resident as a victim of another corporate rip-off.

The pattern of corporations selling shoddy homes, with a built-in obsolescence bomb, is not new in the mountains. Coal corporations long ago pioneered in selling the company houses to the miners minutes before the corporate executives split town. As a matter of fact, the last company town of appreciable size in Appalachia, Wheelwright, Ky., owned by the Island Creek Coal Co., was sold in 1966. So what is occurring now with second home developments has happened before. The only difference is that this time there will not be any shacks for the mountain folks. "Florida Yankees" will be living in them. Minus the coal, the company town has now come to all of Appalachia.

17 COME FROST

RICHARD JACKSON

Richard Jackson grew up near a tourist camp in Hendersonville, North Carolina. He currently is a librarian at Lees-McRae College in Banner Elk, North Carolina.

A friend of my uncle had gone into the county seat for more apple tree spray, having run out about half-way through the orchard. He had to wait, so he walked uptown in his smelly, yellow spray-splattered overalls and sat down on one of the long, green benches which lined the sidewalks of the summer resort town. Two matron-type ladies from Florida occupied the other end of the bench. After he had been there a few minutes, one of the ladies sniffed critically and remarked that mountain towns certainly had some dirty, undesirable people in them. The orchard man turned, looked at them carefully, and agreed with the lady's observation. He added, "One nice thing about it, tho—come frost and they all go back home."

Mountain Review, September 1974. Used by permission.

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18 THE MEDIA VS. APPALACHIA: A CASE STUDY

CURTIS SELTZER

The American news media has failed to recognize the injustice of the historical Appalachian stereotype while bending-over-backwards to purge itself of similar prejudices. The author, a West Virginia free-lance writer, documents this charge.

White Anglo-Saxon Protestants are often thought to be in control of their affairs in ways denied various minority groups. Not so, however, with millions of ordinary people in Appalachia and the South who are routinely thought of as hillbillies, creekers, red-necks, grits, and trash.

Where people are in society's pecking order is reflected in the offhand images used in the national media. Reportorial images are concocted from the ruts of historical commonplaces and the ditches of the prevailing chic. Neither takes kindly to mountain people.

Mountain Review, May 1976. Used by permission.

The reporting of the 1974 textbook dispute in Kanawha County, West Virginia, suggests the grip and the acceptability of the belittling hillbilly stereotype.

The book controversy itself is not simply put. At issue were political control of the public schools and the values public education ought to promote.

A majority of people in this country had become aware that the newly adopted English books did not jibe with their ethical and religious beliefs. They had evidence to believe that—by their standards—all of the books contained some selections that were "vulgar, profane, violent, critical of parents, depressing, seditious, revolutionary, anti-Christian and immoral," in the words of conservative school board member Alice Moore.

The misalignment of values was so severe that children were kept at home or enrolled in private schools, coal mines were shut down, and protesters were arrested and fined. There were incidents of violence and intimidation from both sides.

The grass-roots strength of the protest derived from average working people who wanted their children to have better educational opportunities than they had. Middle and upper class conservatives lent quiet support to the movement. Local fundamentalist preachers and out-of-state right-wing circuit riders shaped protest strategy.

A reporter's job is to describe a situation of this kind with fairness, accuracy, and, when time and talent permit, truth. These simple guidelines disappear, however, when the national media covers an Appalachian story. Here are some examples:

One morning I listened to Ed Rabel of CBS radio describe the protesters as "an isolated sub-culture of hill people," a lazy and malicious characterization, which is not even accurate let alone fair or truthful.

A Knight reporter, Wendell Rawls, Jr., quoted the Rev. Marvin Horan, a protest leader, as saying. "There's perfanity and there's pronogerphy and all kinds of trash in them books." Mr. Horan is a truck driver who misplaces his "don'ts" and his "thems," but I have heard him pronounce correctly the words "profanity" and "pornography" both before and after the date of Rawls' story. In this case, mispronunciation was in the ear of the "be-hearer."

Ross K. Baker, a Rutgers political scientist, and Bart Barnes began their *Washington Post* feature (Nov. 17, 1974) this way:

> It is easy to sneer at [illegible], those women in hair rollers and men in bib overalls, who go [illegible] school board meetings to denounce atheism and immorality in the classrooms of Kanawha County.

> They have old wringer washers on the front porch and drive battered pickup trucks. They have never heard of John Dewey or Jean Piaget. They are troubled and confused by the 'new morality,' the 'new secularism,' the impact on their lives of all that is 'relevant' and 'innovative,' and they hurl back words like 'blasphemous,' and 'obscene,' and 'unpatriotic.'
>
> But those who sneer or laugh do themselves no credit; they only show their own varieties of provincialism and narrow-mindedness, traits which have never been confined to the more rural areas of the country.

Their lead suggests only that it is uncouth to sneer or laugh at such a spectacle. That the spectacle itself is a flawed and distorted journalistic contrivance is not questioned.

I covered this story since its beginning and I never saw a woman in hair rollers or a man in bib overalls. I expect there are more bibbies on Park or Connecticut Avenues than in all of Kanawha County. The reader is also led to suppose that he may be slightly weird if he is troubled by the "new morality," the "new secularism," and that which is "relevant" and "innovative." I confess I am troubled by these terms, especially when they are protected by anonymous quotation marks. I have seen them used to justify a witch's brew of crazy, destructive, and totalitarian behavior.

Ben A. Franklin of *The Times* (Oct. 14, 1974) was no better. The protest of "aroused Fundamentalist parents" takes place "in the heart of the Appalachian coal fields, where the airwaves are full of emotive radio preachers' fire and brimstone and roadside signs carry the bullet pocks of beery Saturday night automobile snipers . . ." Franklin dodged the beery sniper fire long enough to quote four pro-bookers (three ministers and a newspaper editor) and one opponent, a bank executive who was "one of the few protesters able to articulate . . . objections."

The New Yorker's Calvin Trillin asserted (Sept. 30, 1974) after a quick look that the protest had "no intellectual pretensions. Its leaders claimed not that they were more expert than the teachers who chose the books but that the experts were not to be trusted." If such skepticism is not empirically justified by recent history one can only wonder what is. He continues, ". . . there is an assumption that any dispute involving mountain people—particularly mountain people who are miners—will end in violence." Who made this assumption besides Trillin himself? Would he care to offer us some of his other assumptions about other groups, say dumb Poles, lazy blacks, and contented women. The fact is that the dispute ended at a public school board meeting with a four to one vote to reinstate nearly all of the books.

Obviously, no other minority is subject to such ridicule in the national media. Because there is no organized mountaineer constituency in Manhattan and because so few newspeople have ever lived here, they get away with typing the protesting parents as raggedy, half-literate, bomb-slinging religious nuts. If mountain people had the equivalent of the NAACP or the Anti-Defamation League to police the media, such misconceptions might be stuffed down into those recessed pockets of our social minds that we deny exist.

It is instructive to contrast the treatment of fundamentalist Protestants with that accorded Jews at about the same time and in equally emotional situations. The point of the comparison is not to buttress the Jewish conspiracy theory outlined by General George S. Brown, but rather to suggest the penalties of image imposed by unsophisticated, un-sensitized reporters and editors.

In early October, 1974, several thousand young Israelis broke through police barricades in an attempt to establish outposts in off-limits areas on the West Bank of the Jordan River. Their purpose was to prevent any concession of territory captured in the Yom Kippur war. Terrence Smith's report in *The Times* (Oct. 9, 1974) said many were members or supporters of the right-wing National Religious Party and "contend that Israel has a religious right to annex the whole of the Biblical land of Israel." Although the invasion was "meticulously coordinated and organized along paramilitary lines" and involved a "free-for-all" pitting "300 religious youths" against soldiers, there was no mention of "Bible-thumpin' Jews," "bawl-and-stomp rabbis," or "the assumption that any dispute involving Semitic people—particularly Semitic people who are Jews—will end in violence." In fact the words "rebellious," "violent," "fanatic," or "militant," were not used at all. The demonstrators were simply described as "determined" and "religious."

The Jewish Defense League vowed publicly on November 12, 1974, to assassinate Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, during his visit to the U.N. The threat was made by Russell Kelner who spoke to reporters with a .38 cal. revolver in front of him. The only adjective used to describe the JDL and its members in William Claiborne's *Washington Post* story (Nov. 12, 1974) was "militant,"; certainly a mild—and in the context of the story—an imprecise and superfluous characterization. If either the PLO or coal miners in Kanawha County had tried a stunt like that, the reports would have been chock-full of adjectives such as "terrorist," "reckless," "extremist," "gun-toting," and "violence-prone." CBS' Ed Rabel could not style the JDL as an "isolated sub-culture of urban Semites" and expect to keep his job.

Obviously it is impossible to measure the impact of such erroneous media images either on mountain people or on non-Appalachians who are co-victims. Perhaps no one cares. Or perhaps there are no forums of redress available if one does.

But apart from the social damage involved in continuing this pattern of reporting news, there are the professional standards of reporters that require its termination. The news picture of the illiterate, gun-happy, snake-handling, Appalachian mutant of the Angles and the Saxons lacks fairness, accuracy and truth. There is no justification for a double standard.

19 AWAKENING IN APPALACHIA

JOSEPH P. BLANK

Stereotyping assumes many forms in the news media. One of these forms is a benign condescending attitude taken by many outside the region towards what they understand to be the problems of Appalachia. The following example first appeared in the Sunday supplement of THE DENVER POST and was subsequently reprinted by the READER'S DIGEST. This kind of reporting about Appalachia seems to be typical when stories are written for national consumption. It is followed by a rejoiner written by a Johnson County teacher and East Tennessee native.

A sign that points the way to better times for poverty-stricken southern Appalachia stands inconspicuously off the road in the tiny hamlet of Laurel Bloomery, Tenn. It reads "Iron Mountain Stoneware." Beyond it, huddled against Iron Mountain itself, is a long, low, green building in which fine ceramic tableware is produced for distribution in 46 states.

"A lot of people thought that the idea of such a plant was a pipe dream," says Mayor Blake Atwood of nearby Damascus, Va. "They figured it could never happen. But it did happen, and it made a good number of people realize that a community *can* change if you work for it."

The change is beginning to show all through this 300-square-mile area that straddles the border between Virginia and Tennessee. In Damascus, a town of 1500, a new super-market has opened. The streets have been cleaned of litter and are newly lighted. When the town needed a clinic to attract a doctor, more than 400 people chipped in $42,000 to build it.

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Eight miles across the border, bright, well-built homes are cropping up on the outskirts of Mountain City. A large automobile agency has opened. Twenty-five local residents invested $125,000 in a first-class, 20-unit motel. Between the two towns, a shoe plant has opened, employing more than 300 men and women. The touchstone for all this has been Iron Mountain Stoneware.

In a way, IMS *was* a pipe dream. The dreamers were dark-haired, intense Nancy Patterson, a professional ceramist, and Albert K. Mock, Jr., a driving architect-businessman, now 39 years old. After spending more than a decade working as a designer for leading potteries in California, Denmark, Finland and Taiwan, Nancy wanted to set up her own business. At a meeting in Boston arranged by a mutual friend, she told Al, "I have the know-how to turn out high-quality stoneware at competitive prices. I want to open a plant, but I need a person like you who knows about organizing a business."

For the previous nine years, Al had shuttled between Japan and Boston as architect-president of a Yokohama company that built racing sailboats. Now he yearned to go back to the Appalachian Mountains, where he had been raised, and where his family had lived for five generations. "I like the mountains and the mountain people," he says. "It was here that I wanted to establish my equity in life. I knew the area couldn't support an architect, though. If I came back, I'd have to create a job or a business."

Nancy's idea seemed to light a path home. "Let's go down to Appalachia and look around," he urged. "I've got a hunch that the land of opportunity may be where things are worst."

They made their first trip in mid-1962. To Al, the beautiful mountains were a mocking backdrop to the economic plight that gripped these communities. The little towns of Damascus and Mountain City looked run-down and apathetic. Empty stores and movie houses stared into the streets. The shell of a big furniture factory, once the single industrial support for both towns, lay in decay. The region's agriculture had lost out to the mechanized farms in the lowlands. The mines had petered out. The land simply could not support the people.

Beneath the bleak conditions, however, Al saw opportunity. After several visits he said to Nancy, "Let's pitch our tents here. You've found high-quality clay nearby. Plant sites are cheap. We have plenty of available labor." He paused. "And God knows these folks need someone to believe in them."

Nancy didn't have to be persuaded. She had come to feel a kinship with the people and the land.

The first big problem was financing. Under the guidance of the Johnson County Industrial Commission, an organization of local businessmen formed to attract industry, Al turned to what is now the Economic

Development Administration of the Department of Commerce. Its primary function is to stimulate local initiative by providing seed money to distressed areas in the form of industrial loans. After careful investigation, the agency decided that the stoneware market was sound and that Nancy and Al had the creative and management ability to turn their idea into a going business. A loan of $107,000 was approved. The two banks in Damascus and Mountain City followed with loans totaling $36,000.

Al and members of the Industrial Commission then took to the road to sell stock. "We want as many local people as possible to own a piece of this business," they told prospective customers. "We don't want the profits made here to drain off to investors 500 miles away."

The townspeople listened respectfully to Al's offer of stock at $10 a share. When he left, however, they remained dubious. "How can he raise money around here?" they wondered. "Nobody ever heard of a ceramics plant in these mountains."

One man said, "Well, we *need* people to try something to change the way we're going." In time, a lot of men reached that conclusion. Stock was bought by an accountant, a dentist, several farmers, a filling-station operator, a minister, store owners, and Al's and Nancy's families. The woman who sold Al and Nancy the factory building site at the foot of Iron Mountain bought stock with part of her payment. So did the company that graded the site for construction. In all, more than 125 people put $130,000 into IMS stock.

Late in 1964, word drifted across the mountains that a new plant was going to be opened in Laurel Bloomery. Men and women, 409 in all, ambled down from the hollows to ask if they could put their names down for a job. They brought with them an air of defeat. "You haven't got a job for me, have you?" they would ask. Some averted their eyes, as though afraid they'd be thrown out if Al and Nancy noticed them clearly.

News of the company's creation also reached the Council of the Southern Mountains, a Berea, Ky., organization which has spent more than 50 years trying to improve conditions in the mountains. In a meeting with Al and Nancy, the Council's job-training specialist said, "We know there are no ceramics workers around here, so you'll have to train your own people. We'd like to help you, and we hope you'll go along with an idea of ours. Instead of teaching the young, energetic, easily trainable adults, would you take on the older people? The unemployed. The unskilled. Those who have suffered the worst from the depression here. Not only will it help these people, but it will prove that one of our great resources is a supply of dependable workers."

Al and Nancy said yes.

Assisted by two Council interviewers, the IMS management eliminated nearly every applicant who held a job or lived in a family where any member held a job. They ignored age, education and job experience. Their primary criteria were: Who most needs the job? Who seems most capable?

Of the 409 original applicants, 85 were selected to take a simple aptitude test. Seventy scored low. Nonetheless, 45 were finally admitted to the training program. Most were over 35. They averaged four dependents each. Some had been on welfare. One man had not worked more than four months a year during the previous decade. Another said, "I've been doing just odd jobs all my life." The women were widows with children, wives with sick husbands.

Only two local stockholders objected to the choice of trainees. "You've got a man up there that everybody knows is unreliable," one of them said to Al. "He'll make mistakes and ruin you."

"I know about him," Al answered. "He stays. I think we're going to do him some good, and he's going to do us some good."

The training program was supported by the U.S. Department of Labor. During the 40-hour-a-week, 10-week course, the trainees received the equivalent of unemployment compensation, $28-$36 a week, plus a travel allowance. On the eve of the course, Al told the class, "Not all of you will be hired at the end of training. We'll start production with a payroll of only 15, then build up as fast as we can." None of the trainees was dismayed. None dropped out. They didn't want to let go of that precious necessity of life—hope.

At first, the trainees were apprehensive about their ability to learn, but gradually they grew absorbed in the craft. They mixed clay, then worked, bent and shaped it. They learned how to make handles, to jigger bowls, plates and cups, and to apply glazes. They shaped animals, glazed and fired them, and were delighted with the results that came out of the kiln.

At the end of the program, in June 1965, the proud trainees received Department of Labor certificates before an audience of 700. During the ceremony, which also celebrated the opening of the plant, Al had trouble keeping his eyes dry. "If it all stopped right here, it would be worth it," he said to a friend. "These people have shown that they can become assets to any business."

One year later, Iron Mountain Stoneware was turning a profit. Today, across the country, more than 600 retail stores—stores such as Marshall Field in Chicago, Georg Jensen in New York, Rich's in Atlanta—are selling $400,000 worth of the company's stoneware a year. Moreover, IMS has made it unnecessary to pay out thousands of dollars a year in welfare and unemployment compensation that its employes had formerly been receiving. And more than $100,000 a year in new wages is being spent locally.

But the most significant accomplishment is seen in the people themselves. The man who had been condemned as "unreliable" is a skilled, responsible worker. Many of the 30 employes have painted, expanded or improved their homes. They dress better. They're trading their old cars for more recent models. Their children are no longer kept out of school for want of decent clothing and lunch money.

"I just feel good now," said a highlander who had never been out of the mountains. "It does terrible things to you to be out of work for a long time. A man with a family can't feel like a man if he ain't got a job."

Iron Mountain Stoneware is not the total answer, of course, to the problems of Appalachia. But it is certainly an important step toward an answer. "We need to reverse the brain drain," says Loyal Jones, executive director of the Council of the Southern Mountains. "For many years our better-educated people have left this area. We need them to come back. If that stoneware plant could take hold in Laurel Bloomery, using native resources and people, then other businesses can take root in hundreds of communities across these mountains."

A LOCAL RESPONSE

SUSAN B. MIELKE

There are "pluses" as far as Iron Mountain Stoneware's relationship to the surrounding community is concerned. The aspects advanced by Blank which I recognize and support are:

1—Employment of the unemployable,
2—Local ownership of the ceramic industry,
3—Utilization of native resources, and
4—Stimulation of local initiative.

However, as a resident of the southern highlands, and one who teaches elementary school in Johnson County, I take serious offense at Blank's description of the southern Appalachian mountain dweller. I find the tone of the article to be patronizing and condescending. He has stereotyped the southern mountaineer as docile, unmotivated, simple, and self-defeatist in his attitude. In this evaluation I find little respect for or understanding of a people with a rich heritage—a people fiercely proud, resourceful, and independent.

It is a gross exaggeration to attribute the degree of positive change in the community to Iron Mountain Stoneware. The evidence necessary to conclude that the industry was "the touch stone for all of this (progress)" just is not there. Generalizing in his concluding statements Blank makes the almost amusing concession that Iron Mountain Stoneware "is not the total answer to the problems of Appalachia." Did anyone, for a moment, think it was?

Make no mistake, I am delighted that Iron Mountain Stoneware came to our region. I have been to the industry's showroom a number of times to browse and buy. My family and dinner guests are frequently served on my own treasured stoneware set. What I *deplore* is an article, nationally distributed and read, which fosters regional bias and perpetuates incorrect stereotypes. The southern highlander is unfortunately portrayed as one who ambles down out of the hollow to get some of the goodies which by the good graces of outsiders are now available to him.

20 THE PSEUDO-HICK: A MOUNTAIN FRAUD

GARY CARDEN

Gary Carden is a resident of Sylva, North Carolina and a former English teacher. He attacks the outsider who is so caught up in Appalachian culture and its folksiness that the true meaning of the mountaineer and his life is lost in the shuffle.

When I started teaching in a little church-supported college back in 1967, I found myself face to face with my first pseudo-hick. He came thundering into the faculty lounge with a full beard, a $50 folksy shirt and a fretless guitar. He was from Boston, attended New York City College, and was "immersed" in Appalachia. He taped jack-tales and rapsodized about the awesome nobility of the mountaineer. He had been absorbed. He had been "accepted."

Now, somewhere in those lyrical passages about "mother wit" and "spartan endurance," I finally realized that this fellow was instructing me about my own culture. Now, it is not that I am simple-minded. The plain truth was, I didn't recognize the life that he described. He kept talking about the mountaineer's stamina or his "stoic fortitude." He never mentioned ignorance, stupidity or poverty. Seemed that he never encountered them, or if he did, he called them something else, like rustic color, persistence and endurance.

Where was Aunt Dony who forbade mixed swimming in the creek because "them little male sperms kin swim, 'n I don't want no pregnant

The Plow, January, 1976. Used by permission of the author.

granddaughters." She also averted her head if she passed a drive-in movie at night, because one look was sure damnation. He never seemed to encounter the red-eye or the "itch," rotten cabbage, rickets or my Uncle Ardell who had 12 kids, never worked a day in his life, and drank vanilla extract and shoe polish.

It was about this time that I began to realize exactly what had been bothering me for years—that there was something basically hypocritical and misleading about much of the literature developed by oral history professors, regional writers, folk culture enthusiasts. In their eagerness to immortalize Appalachia, they removed the grit and wormwood and produced a thin, watery concoction that I find unsavory.

One character in my area has published three successful books, most of them examples of selective nostalgia. He remembers smelling hot buttered buscuits and johnny-cakes. His grandfather "walked tall and cast a long shadow" (his favorite phrase), and his grandmother's eyes were always shining with humor and compassion. Not one bitter memory; not one venal relative.

My own grandfather was a remarkable man, but I have no intention of putting him up for sainthood. I remember holding on to his overalls while he walked the streets on Saturday, "swappin' watches and pocketknives" with his friends. I remember a thousand kindnesses, but I also remember him as a stubborn, unforgiving man with a contempt for education, and a conviction that all women were devious, simple-minded, or both. He distrusted lawyers and ministers, loved crooked politics and was vain enough to secretly use "Sun-Ray" hair dye. He bought patent medicine, dime-store glasses and chewed tobacco. When his health failed and he realized that he was dying, he was terrified.

I can't relate him to those "lean mountain men" of Appalachian fiction who have "hawk eyes, firm jaws and gnarled hands." He gave me an awful lot of good advice, but none of it struck me as being "pithy" or pungent with earthy wisdom. He said, "Shet up, set down, look a man in the eye when you talk to him, and stay out of the pool room." Not exactly earth shaking instructions.

Yet, he is a hell of a lot more believable than those people that I keep reading about.

21 NOW A MAN NEEDS AN EDUCATION

BERTON H. KAPLAN

There is a persisting question among Appalachian mountain people as to the value of a formal education. Most adults have "made it" without a great deal of schooling and do not provide the parental push sometimes necessary to keep their children from dropping out. Dr. Kaplan used a conceptual approach in studying the community of Blue Ridge and arrived at an ethnographic description of the community's values and attitudes. This selection examines the views taken by these people towards formal education. The author currently teaches in the Department of Epidemology in the School of Public Health of the University of North Carolina.

With an expanding technology and division of labor which required higher skill levels, formal schooling became increasingly imperative. Indeed, the need for formal education is a dominant value in urbanizing societies.[1] In general terms, the recognition of this problem is expressed in Blue Ridge as "Now a man needs an education." Although there is considerable consensus on the general problem, the different social classes have differing definitions of their specific educational problems and different solutions have emerged in the process of change.

The Crisis Problem:[2] "Now a man needs an education."

Because understanding the background of this problem is important, we will define more precisely what threats are posed as culturally defined problems. It is also important to consider how the present educational problems arose out of the processes of change, especially urban influences, which have occurred in the community since World War I, and particularly since world War II.

The meaning of the problem, in general terms, can be viewed through the perspective of local community people. The following quotations are from several informants who know the problem in terms of their experiences and who reveal much of the cultural definition of the issue as well:

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[1] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology* 52 (January 1947), pp. 297–306; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 15; Joseph Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1953). p. 293.

[2] We report *modal* patterns.

> I want to finish school. If you don't, you end up a hang-out, a drifter. You can't do anything without an education today. Look at my father; he can't get a better job since he had only one year or two of schooling. . . . (This is a fifteen-year-old boy from the "sorry" group—a rare exception—who learned much of this in school from his teachers.)

* * * * *

> People recognize now that education is a big thing. They may not all try to get more or encourage their children, but they will tell you that it's important. Back when I was young (he is 72), we didn't care much. The school was only open three months out of the year. Many couldn't get to school if they had wanted. Besides, it didn't make a big difference. We thought that if we could read and write, that was an education. What else was it for in those days? Now it is all different. Now, you need it to do almost anything.

* * * * *

> Education has become a big thing here. Look at the new school they just built. You cannot get a good job anymore without a high school diploma. Those mills want a man with an education. Those without it are left behind. (The informant is a man in his late twenties. He is from the "get by" class.)

* * * * *

These comments offer an introduction to how securing an education in an urbanizing community has become defined as a major role and value problem. The requirement of a good education is now seen as a necessity. The threat of not having an adequate education is also reflected in the awareness that a lack of education means restricted participation in the employment opportunities that have emerged with the great expansion in factory work since World War II. The potential or real threat of a lack of schooling is recognized in all classes, though defined and dealt with differently within the class structure.

An understanding of the problem of "now a man needs an education" will be furthered by examining how the issue arose out of the past patterns of education and the subsequent changes in the community. If we look at the period just after the turn of the century, we find differing value-attitudes about educational goals. The "better" class families seemed to encourage "schooling"; the "get bys" were largely indifferent; and the "sorry" class was quite apathetic. As a major value, however, education was not too important!

> People didn't care much about education. We didn't have the schools, and we didn't feel it was that important. A man could

> get along without it. If a man could farm, use an axe and plow, he could make it. The only book learning that was considered important was knowing the Bible. (This informant was a 78-year-old-man in the "better" group, who knew the past in quite expert fashion.)

In the subsistence agriculture of the time, formal schooling seemed none too pressing, schools were few in number, and many lived beyond reach of a school. In winter, it was often impossible to travel to school.

> Only a few log cabin schools served those in walking distance. I lived as a boy over the Ridge. We couldn't get out to go to school with mud for roads and the deep snows. I learned to read and write a little, but it didn't seem so important then. Things are sure different now. (This man was 75 at the time of the interview.)

The problem of "now a man needs an education" is further defined in terms of the changes that have occurred in the educational system over the last forty to fifty years. Very few went to high school before the early 1930's. Schools in Mountainville, some fifteen miles away, were not accessible; school buses did not operate at that time, so the first opportunity for a free high school did not come along until one was built in a nearby town in 1930. In 1934 only three students from the entire township graduated from high school though informants said the number gradually expanded during the 1930's and 1940's. The only woman in this first group of three who finished high school told this story:

> We were the first from this township to go to that school. You know, a few people finished high school in the boarding schools in (B) town, but they had the money to afford it. It was really something in those days to have finished school. We were kidded about it. Families gradually began to encourage their children to finish school. They realized it was important. . . .

Many of the returning veterans of World War II apparently encouraged the value of education, returning from the war realizing the importance of education in the modern world and that participation in the modern occupational world required it. At about the same time, the arrival of several mills in the area emphasized the fact that those with an education had better chances of obtaining the better paying and more stable jobs. Also, by the early 1950's the new roads to remote areas of the township made it possible for practically all of the children to get to school in the winter. In 1951 a consolidated elementary school was built and for the first time took children from the entire township. A Parent Teachers Association was formed (largely through leadership from the "Intentional Community") to encourage the growth and utilization of the school. Throughout the social structure, parents were increasingly urged to keep their children in school. This encouragement came largely from the teachers and from the Parent Teachers Association.

In terms of the foregoing, the problem of education in Blue Ridge seems more understandable. The value placed on finishing high school increased the opportunities to go to school and finish high school, and the opportunities to go to school and finish high school expanded. Also, the realization developed that participation in an urban economy demanded more education. Indeed, it was during the 1950's that the first few local boys and girls went off to nearby colleges. Good jobs became increasingly defined as requiring a good education, even college. Consequently it is not surprising to hear the local perception of the educational problem as "now a man needs an education." A local young man, who finished one year of college, put it this way:

> More folks around here came to realize that going to school was important. Talk to the most uneducated. They will tell you that going to school is important. They know how much it means to be without it today. The attitude has changed for many. Finishing high school is now a sign of respectability. Who can get anywhere today without at least a high school education? Around here the man without an education will be more and more a drifter. . . .

The Steps of Structural Differentiation—Steps 1–7.

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction.** The defined threats to educational goals vary within the class structure of Blue Ridge. In the "better" class, the problem is usually defined as "We got as much education as we could, and our children will get more." The implications of this statement are several. First, this group is the most educated in the community, with most of its men having at least some high school. Second, the parents ordinarily encourage their children to further their education. In effect, there is no evidence of serious educational role dissatisfactions among the working age group:

> We got the best schooling we could. We make sure our children finish. Even the men who have not finished high school can get work. They are the best educated men around here, and they work hard. . . .

Even though role dissatisfaction seems absent among the "better" class adults over the problems of an education, the same is not true of the children in this group who have finished high school or who have gone on to college. Their problem is expressed in at least two ways. First, there is the dissatisfaction expressed over "what am I going to be?" For the boys in particular, there is the stated problem of career choice: What to become?—especially in those cases where the prospect of becoming a mill worker or store clerk is not an acceptable occupational goal. They want a better career, but do not seem able to assess clear goals or alternatives. In contrast, their fathers knew their choices of careers were few. Today, however, the high school graduate evidences a good deal of dissatisfaction over the prospects of a career:

> I have finished high school. I don't want to do just anything. I want to be able to advance and learn. I don't want to be a mill worker. I want something better. But I just don't know what to become. In school, I learned of many different kinds of careers. They had Career Day last year. I can't decide what I want to follow. It is very hard. I don't want to be stuck here either.

A second type of role crisis among this group was the related question of "What can I do around here?" For the high school graduate, the choice of jobs were seen as limited. Some seemed to feel that they had more education than many jobs required. Others felt that their occupational choices were too narrow in the local area. As a result, we find a picture of expanded occupational horizons which do not seem realizable in the present market. As one young man put it:

> I guess I'll have to leave here. There just isn't enough to do. My choices are really few. I can maybe get a job in the mill. School teaching requires a college education. There are too many stores already. I'd like to stay, but what will I end up doing? That is what worries a lot of young men around here. . . .

Among "get by" men already in the labor market, the problem of education is generally phrased as: "We don't have enough education; what else can we do?" As a rule, these men do not have a high school education. At best, they finished elementary school, so they are usually blocked from the newer jobs in the thread mills, or from any of the more skilled jobs. They seem to realize that their educational lack limits their occupational choice, though many will still tell others that securing a good education is important. As an informant in this group phrased it:

> I know they won't take me over at the mills, if I wanted a change. Mica mining has been my job for some time. I guess I'll have to stick with it. . . .

As already discussed, among high school age children in this group, the "what to do?" problem exists as a point of dissatisfaction. The other crisis is the problem of "should I finish high school?" As a rule, they are encouraged to finish by their teachers, but do not usually have this kind of support from parents, which results in a conflict situation for these teenagers.

> I know that if I don't finish, it will be harder to get a decent job. My parents don't see the benefits. They say, We got along without an education. You can too. . . .

In the "sorry" group, the problem of education, generally phrased as: "I don't have an education. I don't care." indicates several aspects of the problem. First, they are the least educated group in the community, having, as a rule, less than an elementary school education. Second, the families usually do not care. Third, the observer comes to realize over time that there is a further aspect to this—they see the lack of an education as a block to any improvement in their standard of living or a better job. This is accepted as a fact of life.

> I never had schooling. They say it's important. What good does it you? We can get along. . . .

As for the children, there was no evidence of any special dissatisfaction. In this group they usually drop out by the time they are fourteen, educational mobility is a rare exception, and they are not strongly encouraged by their parents. Also, these children come to school poorly dressed and poorly groomed, and so are often objects of teasing by their classmates. This was particularly true after the new elementary school was built in 1951.

The value criteria behind these role and value dissatisfactions must be stated. In the pre-urban period, there was little emphasis on the value of a formal education. But even then, the "better" group was the most committed to seeking an education. In subsequent years, especially with the urban influences since World War II, the general importance of education has increased. The "better" group became highly committed to securing an education, the "get by" group is now moderately interested, the "sorry" group remains little interested. The different groups' value involvements in education correspond to their participation in the urbanizing economy. For example, the "better" group is the most urbanized; and likewise the most interested in securing educations commensurate with occupational goals. In a corresponding way, educational roles have varied by class. In all the foregoing, we must emphasize the context of change, or urban influences, in which education becomes increasingly important.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** The symptoms related to the foregoing disurbances vary by class. Among the "better" group, there was no evidence of serious problems with education, with the exception of the many youngsters finishing high school perplexed by "what to do?" or "what to become?" The resulting value conflict between generations is symptomatic of these problems. The parents, used to a more certain set of occupational expectations, find these problems of their children remote or not understandable. The young person in this situation, usually feeling that his parents cannot be of any assistance in resolving his dilemma, seems to conclude that this is a problem the parents do not understand. Indeed, it is a problem relatively new to this area:

> I feel as though I don't know what to do. It is very unpleasant to feel this way. I want to get help, but my parents don't understand what is troubling me about this. . . .

The symptom most expressed in the "get by" adults is largely one of a sense of unrealistic values—the indication that not having at least a high school education makes no career difference. Among the high school children in this group, some value and role conflict exists with parents over how to solve the problem of what to do or whether to finish high school or not. An informant in this group said:

> It's not an education that makes such a difference. Look, I got along, didn't I? My children think a high school education is everything. It is not so. A boy should go to work by the time he's fourteen. That's the way to learn.

The symptoms expressed in the "sorry" group are different from the foregoing. While there is the definition that an education is an important aspect of their lives and aspirations among the adults, many will contradictorily acknowledge that an education is important today. The operating definition that it is unnecessary results in the value conflict between the acknowledged importance of an education and the operating value that it is not. Related to this is an "I don't care about it" apathy. When goals become conflicting or unrealizable, these types of symptomatic responses are not surprising. The teenager in this group affected by parental indifference, is also at cross purposes with parents and teachers because the parents are somewhat indifferent while teachers encourage finishing school. As a young man in this group put it:

> I feel like I am caught in between. I know that if I don't finish school, like my father, I'll end up a loafer or odd jobs man. My father and mother don't care what I do. They'd like me to earn my own way. My teachers encourage people to finish. Mrs. (S) has talked to me about finishing. I don't know what I'll do. . . .

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** Even before this study and prior to the rapid impact of urban influences after World War II, the "better" group approached the acquisition of a formal education as a desirable goal. Indeed, in this group there has been a stronger commitment historically to education than in any other group in the community. Educational attainments were limited by available facilities, but they usually made the most of whatever opportunities existed. Prior to the 1940's, securing as much education as possible was largely related to a concern with being respectable and "decent" people. Intellectual interests as a primary value were never strong, although to be learned about the Bible was highly valued:

> My parents are a good example of this type of people. They got what education they could. A few had money enough to go off to (B) to high school. They did not want to be illiterate and backward. They felt that an education was of some value. Look at my father; he got as much as he could and still regrets he did not finish high school. My mother did finish high school—she was the first local girl to graduate from the high school in (M). I've been off to college. They didn't go in for serious study, but they did like to learn as much as they could. Now an education has a different meaning—it's your job today. . . .

In the "get by" group, the most typical value for handling formal educational goals was expressed in terms of "it doesn't really matter." From the turn of the century, this class was largely indifferent to education. If a person went to school, that was satisfactory; if one did not go or was not very interested, that was also satisfactory. As a result, up until the present, educational attainment has not been a strong motivation. An informant from this group reveals quite general patterns:

> My father, for example, told me that if I wanted to finish school, that was okay. If not, he didn't care. We couldn't see the great value of schooling then. People have changed now. But I didn't care myself. I dropped out of school in 1938, when I got to be fourteen. I wanted to earn some money. . . .

In the "sorry" class, the value placed on education in the 1920's and 1930's was one of almost total indifference mixed with contempt.

As a rule, they either did not go to school, or dropped out as soon as possible. Usually a student went when he felt like it, a pattern that has persisted to the present. A school teacher stated:

> These folks from up the coves, the sorry characters, didn't care anything about schooling. They came when they pleased and quit when they could. Laws were not enforced in those days. It was very rare for anyone from this group to even get into high school.

Steps 4–7. **New Definitions and the Implementation of New Norms.** In this case it seems desirable to compress Steps 4–7 into one section, since the development of new norms within each class was quite unclear at the time of the study. In the "better" class, the importance of securing an education is still the strongest in the community, with two differences, however. Since World War II, education has become more identified as a requirement of participating in an industrial society, and educational success has become equated with occupational success. Another difference is that there are more opportunities to maximize educational opportunities. Indeed, since the early 1950's several young people have gone to college from the "better" group. Thus, the norm of educational aspiration has remained about the same or has been strengthened, whereas the means of realizing this goal have expanded with increased role opportunities for an education. As for the dissatisfactions of youth, faced with the questions of "what shall I be?" and "where will I go for a career?" there is largely a situation of uncertainty—the problems exist, but no evidence exists as to ways in which new norms are being implemented to solve the problems. The "better" young have a broadened view of more occupations to choose from, but vague standards of selection. An informant put the situation quite clearly:

> These families have always secured as much education as possible. If for no other reason, they wanted to be respectable. They want to make something of themselves. This is stronger since the war. Look at Mr. (C), he went to high school, when others couldn't. Now his son is going to college. There are more opportunities now. Look at my family—my father only finished elementary school, but my mother finished high school. Granddad had four or five years of the three month schools, but that was all they had. Look at me; I am going to college now. Now we realize a man needs it to get ahead in this world. . . .

There is a different situation in the "get by" class. They, too, still adhere to educational values and definitions, which are, with one exception, little if at all changed from pre-urban times. The adults continue with the old definitions, so Steps 4–7 really do not apply at all to this group. "It doesn't really matter" is still the most typical way in which these adults view the importance of securing a formal education. The exception, according to informants, is that youth in this group increasingly complete more grades than their parents did and more finish high school than in the past. As for the problems of youth—"what to do" or "whether to finish school?"—they showed no evidence of resolution at the time of the research.

> My family is a good example of how people think about this. My parents are still not convinced that finishing school is so important. They want me to earn money as soon as possible. Teachers encourage us to finish. A few listen, others are uncertain what is right. I want to finish, if I can.

Among the "sorry" class, educational norms have not progressed beyond Step 3. There was no evidence of a search for new definitions or motivations to deal with a history of educational indifference or apathy. A young man from this group offered a typical definition of this:

> I'm fourteen so I'll quit school this year. My father never learned to read or write. My mother had some schooling. I don't care. School is horrible to me. I may try to go to the service to get out of here. They don't care much about schooling.

SUMMARY

"Now a man needs an education" is a most important crisis in the community. With urbanization, the imperatives of a formal education have become a more important goal in a more complex division of labor, yet it seems that definitions about education have not changed materially. In the "better" class, there is the definition that "we got as much as we could, and our children will get more." In the past they were motivated to seek available educational goals; now with expanded role opportunities, this group utilizes school resources somewhat more than before and more than the other two groups. Many of those of high school age are faced with new and unsolved dissatisfactions over "what am I to be?" and "what can I do around here?" These are problems related to goal aspirations that are either unclear or not realizable in the existing occupational structure. These are also generational problems: the fathers grew up in a fairly fixed or limited set of alternatives, in contrast to the many choices available to the present high school age children.

In the "get bys," the mild indifference of the past has continued into the present. "We don't have enough. What else can we do?" apparently summarizes their problem. They usually do not have the education or skills for the newer, more skilled jobs. Besides, they are indifferent to the whole problem, though they will contradictorily ackowledge the importance of finishing high school. Among the high school children there is likewise the problem of "what to do?", and the very question of whether or not to finish high school also looms large as a conflict situation. Finally, among the "sorrys" there is a persisting apathy and indifference about education. They are the least educated, the first to drop out, and parental insistence on finishing school is almost non-existent. It seems that those most oriented to an active coping with their environment are those who continue to do the same in the face of the problems of a rapidly changing social structure.

The following summarizes this section graphically.

"Now a man needs an education"

	"Better" Class	"Get by" Class	"Sorry" Class
Step 1. System Defined Dissatisfaction:	"We got as much as we could, our children will get more"; not a problem. Children: problem of "What am I going to be?" and "What can I do around here?"	"We don't have enough; what else can we do?" Children: problem of "What will I do?" and "Should I finish?"	"I don't have an education. I don't care." Children usually drop out early.
Step 2. Symptoms of Disturbance:	No evidence of troubles with parents; children in conflict over what to be; isolated from parental help.	Unrealistic value that education doesn't matter, but it does; children in conflict over opposing values of parents and teachers.	Unrealistic value that education is of little or no importance; apathy; children drop out.
Step 3. Handling and Attemps to Realize Existing Values:	Education was always important; was limited by opportunities.	"It doesn't really matter" is definition of long standing.	History of indifference and contempt for educational values.
Steps 4–7. Speculation on New or Altered Norms:	(The basic orientation to education remains as indicated in Step 3 above).		
	Encourage educational achievement; see education as crucial to living in modern society.	Not very concerned; "It doesn't matter" still prevails. Same as Step 3.	Indifferent value. Same as Step 3.

22 WHAT'S IN IT FOR ME?

E. KATHLEEN BROWNING

The following selection is a look at some of the feelings of students gathered by one English teacher during her career in the mountains of West Virginia. Mrs. Browning currently teaches at West Virginia Tech.

The culturally different children in Appalachia come from homes where the parents are largely school dropouts, where reading is not encouraged and reading material is scarce anyway. The parents are not always interested in their children finishing school and often feel that what was good enough for them is good enough for their kids. Lip service is given to religion—fundamental and often fanatical. The children who do come from homes where church attendance is regular are often quiet and accepting of their "lot" in life, because they are taught it is God's will.

However, some of a school's biggest hell raisers are from homes where lip service is publicly given to the church but, apparently, the home life does not reflect the same. Many of these children, if dressed the same as the middle class and college oriented children, would be indistinguishable—except for their haircuts and often the posture, which shows defeat early in life. Limited goals and often hostilities toward the school, which seems irrelevant to their needs and which seems to reject them socially, are evident.

Occasionally a boy may make it socially through athletics. For the most of them, though, they are neglected, unwanted, ignored, and rejected. Their names are on the class roles, but they have little or no part in the school activities. Their apathy is quite evident if teachers take the time and trouble to notice.

Too often teachers say, "He just sits there like a knot on a log—he doesn't care whether he passes or not. I don't have time to fool with him! There are plenty of others who are interested and who do care."

The apathy is often only a cover-up to prevent being hurt, or to hide the hurt which does exist. Many children have said to me, "These teachers around here don't care. They just pay attention to the ones who are going to college or whose parents have money." Or, "I tried to tell her why my paper was late, but she wouldn't listen." Or, "If you've got a problem, go tell the counselors. That's why we have them."

There is a plaintive cry for help from a large portion of the school population, a cry which is largely ignored or unheard, with the schools being structured to meet the needs of the middle class students who are going to college.

Do these children have goals? Most of them either stay in school until the legal school leaving age of 16, but they skip or stay home a great deal. Some grind out the time and credits necessary to let them be graduated because they want a "good job" which requires a high school diploma: a white piece of paper which represents the gateway to employment in a factory. They realize they are not learning anything which is a usable skill for adulthood.

Many of the more intelligent ones drop out before graduation because they have reached the limit of their tolerance, and the slower ones continue to stay in school, which becomes a prison for them because of the lack of relevancy to their lives. Most of them have short range goals, and they are eager to get on with living as adults and being accepted as adults.

Among these people, when the teenager gets married, he or she will almost always drop out of school. Children are born early in the marriage, and the young parent is no more prepared for parenthood than his or her parents were. School has done nothing to give insight into the problems of marriage and parenthood.

Behind the apathy is often eagerness for a crumb of interest and empathy. The mask of indifference assumed by many is removed when the teacher shows understanding and a willingness to meet the children where they are and to accept them for what they are.

I can remember many years of feeling frustrated by classes of these children, years when I was tightly bound by traditional ideas of what school was supposed to be like, how a teacher was supposed to act, and rigid adherence to textbooks because the curriculum called for teaching certain things. I, too, started with Chapter I and went straight through the book. I dared not be innovative or deviate from the course of study, for things like this get around—spread by surprised students and magnified by resentful teachers.

Too often in the eyes of the administration, the good teacher keeps a silent class, and there are no complaints from the parents of the students. However, the parents of this silent minority would never complain, for they would feel the school would know best. I never could equate quietness with learning, and I chafed under the traditionalism which I felt forced me to conform to practices which I did not like nor respect.

One hot spring day on the third floor, when the students seemed sleepy and bored, I threw the textbook on the desk and admitted I was bored too. I asked what they would like to do in that class, things which could be considered English.

The response was amazing, for the students had many ideas. Their creativity on their own level of knowledge and their own frame of reference opened a whole new world to me, and I have had few boring days in the classroom since. It is my own fault when it does happen.

ETC.

The room filled with students, and I handed out cards, supplied pencils or pen, and gave instructions cheerfully in my nasal twang. I greeted the ones I knew and welcomed the new ones to try a "new" English with me.

"This will not be like any English class you have ever had," I started out. "There will be no homework. You do not need to buy books, for I will make available to you the ones you need, or I will help you find them. One day a week you will have a free reading period when you can read the newspaper, a book, or a magazine of your own choice. One day we will have a discussion on a subject of your own choosing. One day you will have a listening experience. I may read to you, or you may listen to tapes or records. There will be a discussion period before the period is over.

One day you will have a writing experience. The other day in the week will be devoted to something that comes out of the other experiences in the week. There is no required reading list for book reports although you will report to me orally about the books you read—books you will choose. During the coming year I hope to entice you into liking to read, into learning how to carry on a conversation, and into writing your own thoughts."

Out of the dead silence, one boy asked, "You mean we ain't gonna read nothin' by Shakespeare?"

"Nothing by Shakespeare unless you choose to read it," I answered.

"You don't need to worry 'bout me doin' that. I always just go to sleep when the teacher starts out 'bout him. Hey, how come you're doin' this? Will we get credit for regular English?" he asked suspiciously. "Are you doin' this cause we're the dummies?"

There it was again: ". . . . we're the dummies."

My heart ached for these kids who had been branded as the "dummies" by the teachers and schools for so long they now accepted the classification.

What is education supposed to be? Book reports, themes, fill-in-the-blanks, lectures, study halls where no one studies, tests that don't really test, football and basketball games for some, band and chorus for a few, clubs for the selected ones, etc.? What does etc. mean?

One Senior boy said it like this: "I think everyone should have a high school education and a diploma. Because when you go to get a job about the first thing they ask, is that you have a high school education or a diploma. And sometimes people give you a job without a high school education and they ask you to write out a order or something. You don't know what they are talking about.

"The reason I said give you a job because some people know the forman very well and he said send your son or daughter over to my office. You tell your son and he is shy and he quite school in the 10th grade and he go's over and talks to the man a he can't pass the test."

Or perhaps the etc. is what another boy meant when he wrote this: "The reason why I think a High School Diploma is important is that without a High School Diploma you are completely lost in this world. Also very few people would hire you for a job unless you had a High School Diploma. Without it you wouldn't be half as tall as you would be with a diploma.

"You worked 12 long, hot, dry, hard, miserable years to get that piece of white paper and its well worth it. A High School Diploma is your future."

Another boy's idea of the etc. goes like this: "I think a diploma is important because you can make something out of yourself, and without a diploma you can't be anything. When I get out of school I want to be something or somebody. I don't want just to work for somebody. I want them to work for me. To me school is really something. It is not just something you half to do, if you don't want to do. I get pleasure out of school. You meet a lot of people and friends at school. You learn how to get along with them. And I think this is just about the most important thing of all. You half to know people to get along with them."

I would like to think the following recorded the thought of the meaning of the etc. for the many silent students when this was written: "I think a high school diploma is important because the high school education I am receiving is giving me the basic training I'l need throughout my life. It will give me a chance to get a better job and make life easier.

"Receiving my diploma will give me a felling that I have earned something for the years I have spent in school, and it will mean something special to me for the rest of my life. It should mean something special to any graduate.

"A diploma will mean more to me than a piece of paper, for it is a certificate of completion of high school, one of the basic factors in this world of automation. When I receive my diploma it will mean that I have reached a goal that I set for myself."

A boy who dropped out before graduation wrote this: "Well, it's a long story about a high school diploma, because their are so many reason for it, for better jobs, and for your education improvement.

"When you are in High school you learn how to study and that's one of the main thing, that way you could further you education your self.

"You learn how to talk and get alone with people. They are a lot of important things in the world and that rates one of the highes."

Did the book reports, the fill-in-the-blanks, the lectures and the etc. compel him to quit? What was there in school for him?

Part of getting an education is as a girl wrote: "Teachers should not treat students as they do. Some teachers treat them very cruely, others treat them nicely. Many teachers have so-called 'pets.' These pets don't do anything wrong according to the teacher. They get to do more things than other students. They also get better grades. It's really not fair to the other students. Teachers call students names, tell them they are stupid, they even try to tell you how to dress. It's none of their business. We don't tell them how to dress.

"If you make a wrong move in a certain class, you go to the principal. I mean I believe in discipline but in many classes you say one word you go to office. Also when a student wants to leave the room to go to the rest room the teacher says no. In some cases it can really be necessary. But the teacher refuses to let the student leave. Like I said before it not fair. But what can you go about it?"

I wonder what else etc. means to the kids?

PROFILE I

He was tall and just a little thin. His brown eyes beckoned shyly from under his black hair and heavy, dark eyebrows as he sidled timidly and awkwardly up to the desk the first day of school. "We're the dummies. You can't teach us nothin'. What're you gonna have us do?" he asked.

"We're going to read a lot of things you will enjoy," I replied.

"I don't like to read nothin'. All them stories in the literature books are for the birds. And, I hate book reports. Why can't we do somethin' innarest' in? I hate English. All we do is write about 'My Summer Vacation' or read stories like *Silas Marner*, which don't mean nothin' to me," he said.

I smiled. "What would you like to read if you had your choice?" I asked.

"I like to read about cars and—and people like us. I ain' never read a book through though. They're all too thick. The only time I read is when there's nothin' else to do. Or nothin' on TV," he replied.

"What do you really like to do?" I queried.

"Well," he said, "when somebody can get a car, I like to run up and down the road looking for girls."

"Do you have a steady girl?" I asked.

"No."

It seemed time to change the subject, so I asked him if he liked to read magazines.

"Some, not many. I like the ones with lotsa pictures, like LIFE and LOOK. I like comic books," he volunteered.

He filled out the class registration form as we talked. From the card I found out that he was the middle child of a large family, and his father worked in a nearby chemical plant. The family, which had never owned a car, lived near the school. His blue and brown plaid shirt, which was neatly starched and ironed, went well with his brown slacks and brown loafers—only his white stocks stood out as being wrong in this school, where the current vogue of the "in-crowd" was dark socks.

The pimples on his face? Could be from too many cokes and candy bars. Too much starch in his diet.

Maybe emotional problems. The hope and challenge in his shy, brown eyes nudged my consciousness of the pleas of legions of Davids for something interesting and relevant to their lives in school.

(David was failing English in the twelfth grade, so he dropped out and went into military service.)

PROFILE II

Evelyn was a small girl with beautiful bone structure and graceful movements. Her dark hair looked clean and well brushed. From her brown eyes it was hard to determine whether she looked shy or just hurt—pleading hopefully for friendship and a crumb of understanding from a teacher.

With the boys, she was saucy and bold—yet defensive. The boys liked her, and she responded easily in a friendly manner most of the time. However, she just as easily administered a rebuff to a boor.

The class was not the same when Evelyn was absent, for her provocative questions were missed, as if the ginger were left out of the gingerbread or the spice out of pumpkin pie.

Some of her papers follow.

. . . a description of a room in her home gives insight. . .

In our living room there is Early American furniture. The couch and chair are a deep red with a printed chair to match. With orange, brown, and green and color of couch. All the tables are maple and always shiny. The lamps are brass with black.

There are books on a round table in the corner, books of German literature and English novels. In one corner is a orange magazine rack, there are white starched scarfs on furniture so the milkglass ashtrays won't mark tables. There are flower arrangement on T. V. and coffee table.

There is a wooded chair with a high back foot stool beneath. And under all of this furniture is an olive green rug.

On the walls are pictures. One is a large center picture of a landscape of mountains with gold frame. There are four smaller pictures next to them. They are small prints of flowers. Over the printed chair is a grandmother's clock about one hundred fifty years old. On the other wall is three pictures of cities in foreign countries.

. . . she never mentions that her mother was a German war-bride—or that her parents are separated. She has another paper here on the desk she handed in late . . . think I'll read it while I'm thinking about her . . . her descriptions are so vivid. . .

It was a misty drizzling September morning just before nine o'clock. All of a sudden loud noises like canons were making harsh sounds. The gray sky seem to light up with bright colors, orange, red and yellow as if the sky were afire. In my mind shot faces of three people. They seemed to stare and all of a sudden they came towards me yelling, running and poking at me. It was like a nightmare you couldn't imagine. The faces were more clear now. They were Bob, John and Mike. They were repeating the same words over and over louder and louder. Can you figure out what they were saying?

(The paragraph was written as a result of an assignment to the class to write a paragraph in which three colors in the room and the names of three students in the class were used.)

. . . she's unhappy at home . . . I hope she doesn't quit school and go to live with her father as she's threatening to do.

Is there any part of the etc. which could keep her from becoming a drop-out?

This class kept a Journal for daily writing at the beginning of the period. I never read the Journals—only checked them weekly to determine whether or not the students were really writing something. When Evelyn did quit school and go to live with her father and the brother she said liked her, she did not take her Journal. Parts I considered significant follow:

September 26

Yesterday my ex-boyfriend from Cleveland whom I was going steady with last year came in, we are going to go back together. Probably we will be married. I hope so because I love him very much. I hope he feels the way towards me as I feel for him. He went back to Cleveland last night and will be back in a few weeks.

He has to work twelve days straight in order to get two days off to come and see me.

He treats me as if I was someone, and I'm glad. He seems more of a man to me than just an 18 year old boy. He is more mature than any other boy I have met at his age. He is an honor student and very kind. My parents think a lot of him. My father met him for the first time yesterday because all of the time when I was going with him my father was in Korea.

September 29

Last night I had a fight with my brother, he ripped at my clothes, choking me and hit me with his fists. I wish I could live with my father. If I don't get out of my house soon, I will have a breakdown.

Everybody in my family hates me, except one brother, and my father. Sometimes I wish I was dead.

I try to do my best but I guess it's not good enough for them.

PROFILE III

His limp, brown hair parted on the left side hung into his twinkly brown eyes as he slouched in with the air of, "Well, I'm here, so let's get something going." He chose to sit about half way back in the room which had those nailed-down desks that were part of the original fixtures when the building was completed in 1921. The boys are bigger now, and he had trouble getting his knees under the desk.

There was a squeak in the seat, but that was part of the fun of trying to get the teacher "riled up" over nothing. His was the delayed reaction which always brought the class down—the bon mot of the day. This talent, I found out later, was always getting him ejected from classes by teachers who had no sense of humor—after all, it is difficult to laugh at one's self.

As a Shop boy, he was not "selected" for the in-group activities. Not that he wanted to be. A 1952 Chevrolet or a motorcycle were his speed, and the "Black Eagle," the school hangout, was his home away from school—or that other place near the auto shop (there were pinball machines there). In case he was "temporarily not driving,"—due to the loss of his driver's license because of a dispute with the "law," or because of being "temporarily out of money," he rode the school bus.

Mike is easy to remember. He was always saying, "Mrs. B., don't use them fifty cents words on us." He wrote his Life Story as he saw it for me. . . .

MY LIFE STORY

It began about 18 years ago, I guess when my mother had me. I guess I'm not all bad but I used to have an awful temper. I sometimes got really viscious, like the time I almost killed my big brother. He just go so danged made he just couldn't stand it, but I got over it and learned to control myself.

And Today my brother is happily married with one kid and one on the way. That just make me an uncle twice.

About the best thing that ever came into my life was my girl, we've talked things over and soon as I get out of school and go into service we're going to get married. I think I have perty weal summerized my life and in the future I hope it better.

. . . here's another paper he wrote. . .

In my openium, the world is really in a mess. Especially the U.S. fighting to keep the econimy up. It's terrible all the boys are getting killed for nothing. If I'm called for active duting, "the so called draft", I'll go because we can't back out now and I love my Country.

If we ever make it through this war, we should form some kind of law forbitting wars of any kind, instead of the "United Nations." What help has the U.N. did for the world, cause a Viet-Nam war, now many Americans have died their, how many more will? It's really hard to say, and here's the big question. Why? just because someone else things Communizium is better. How do we know?, we haven't tried it, why should we kick it, it's worked for some people. And can you think of a different way of life than share and share alike. If you can tell them "it's better than a war."

In the last hundred years how many men have died from wars, thousands upon thousand, and in the future I think we should do complete away with wars. Because what was ever solved by fighting. And some day if we don't quiet fighting, I'll be total destruction, no survivor. Just think about it and I'll think you'll feal the same.

. . . . for three consecutive years this boy completed the same sentences as shown in the following manner. . .

When I have to read, I (1965) get all choked up. (1966) concentrate. (1967) like to read what I want to.

I like to read about (1965) famous people. (1966) adventures. (1967) hot rods.

I'd rather read than (1965) do nothing. (1966) die. (1967) fail.

When I read math (1965) I get sick. (1966) I get sick. (1967) I get sick.

I like to read when (1965) I have nothing to do. (1966) I have nothing ealse to do. (1967) theirs nothing else to do.

I'd read more if (1965) I did have anything to do. (1966) I got a book I realy like. (1967) their were more interesting books about.

. . . . in educational circles there is a lot of talk about attitudes and values , , , here is a list of books he reported on one year. . .

Pirate Quest, Robinson Crusoe, Dim Thunder, Sea Treasure, Dirt Track Summer, The Story of Robert E. Peary, Climb To The Top, Paul Revere, Speedway Challenge.

. . . . I wish I knew why he thought a high school diploma is important, for it seems evident that school is not offering a challenge to him. His interest in reading needs to be developed, for there is no variety in his choice of books, but he was honest in saying he liked to read about adventure. Maybe books had been forced on him in school? The 1967 answers reflect what research shows: students want to choose books to read by themselves, and interesting books were available for them in schools.

. . . . frustration . . . rejection . . . failure. . . .?

23 POWERLESSNESS AMONG RURAL APPALACHIAN YOUTH

NORMAN A. POLANSKY

Felt Powerlessness is hypothesized as the root cause in problems facing Appalachian youth. This powerlessness is not unlike that felt by other disadvantaged groups and tends to be a function of social class. Dr. Polansky teaches at the University of Georgia.

"Felt Powerlessness" may be defined as the degree to which the individual believes that he has little control over his fate, but either is at the mercy of outside forces beyond his control, or his circumstances are due largely to chance, or both.

My interest in powerlessness has arisen in the course of studies aimed at improving child welfare services in Southern Appalachia. It is a commonly voiced complaint among welfare workers, themselves in-

Rural Sociology, June 1969. Used by permission.

[1] This study was supported by grant no. PR1200 from the U. S. Children's Bureau to the University of Georgia.

digenous to the region, that some of their clients are unamenable to casework because of their generally fatalistic attitude. These clients decline to participate in efforts to understand and solve their problems because they believe that they had little role in producing their life situations, and that their efforts will not avail lasting changes.

I hypothesized that this attitude would be found in our region, as elsewhere, to be more associated with a disadvantaged life situation. Specifically, I predicted that persons of lower socioeconomic status and Negroes would both score higher on Felt Powerlessness, and that this attitude would already be visible among young adolescents.

This hypothesis was based on the following rationale: (1) Felt Powerlessness is a direct reflection of lack of financial power in our money economy; (2) persons from families of lower prestige do, in fact, find it less possible to influence the society about them, and this is an "objective fact of life" for these youngsters; (3) the attitude of powerlessness permeates their families of orientation, and whether or not children have experienced it personally, they identify with their parents. On the other hand, one might argue that in rural areas, with so much more direct exposure to nonsocial opportunities for environmental mastery, and direct contact with natural elements, class differences in Felt Powerlessness should be less noteworthy among adolescents than in urban settings.

From the subjective standpoint, there is no question but that Felt Powerlessness can be used as a psychological defense. One need feel neither shame nor guilt about what cannot be helped. This defense is ubiquitous, and may be found among persons in objectively very fortunate circumstances. But the defense is less likely to be disconfirmed by life if one realistically has little power. Therefore, a theory derived from powerlessness as an internal, psychic maneuver yields an identical prediction, in this instance, to that derived from viewing it as direct reflection of objective reality. In either case, persons of lower socioeconomic status should demonstrate more.

Our work with this concept is in the immediate tradition of that initiated by Seeman and Rotter. Seeman (1959) identified the sense of powerlessness as one among five alternative meanings classically associated with the concept of alienation. In subsequent empirical work he has demonstrated, for example, that persons with a strong sense of powerlessness are less likely to acquire control-relevant information about their environments (Seeman and Evans, 1962; Seeman, 1966). Rotter, the psychologist, has focused more on the aspect of the concept which has to do with individual differences in the attribution of responsibility, as a personality dimension he termed "internal versus external" control of reinforcements. Most relevant here is a study he conducted with Battle (Battle and Rotter, 1963: 489) of 80 sixth and eighth grade children from five metropolitan schools. They concluded that: "Lower-class Negroes were significantly more external than middle-class Negroes or whites. Middle-class children, in general, were significantly more internal than lower-class children."

METHOD

Data were collected for this study from 180 ninth and tenth grade youngsters under age 16 residing in rural and semi-rural areas of western North Carolina and northern Georgia. These were chosen to be as nearly adult as possible, although still within the statutory school age, in order to secure more representative sampling. One hundred twenty of these were white students: 60 drawn from a high school located in a small manufacturing town, many of whose students come also from the surrounding countryside; 30 from a high school in an isolated "cove" community and 30 others from a high school serving a completely white farming county. The 60 Negro students were from a high school that is in the process of being phased out by desegregation, but which served the whole Negro population of its mostly rural county.

The instrument of chief concern in this brief report was the Felt Powerlessness scale, a paper-and-pencil test adapted to a sixth-grade reading level by Jaffee (1959) from the original version by Rotter and Seeman (1959). It had shown adequate reliability in previous work (Jaffee, 1959: 31). There was evidence of its construct validity in the study of delinquency-proneness by Jaffe and Polansky (1962). A recheck of odd-even split-half reliability in the present study yielded an *r* of .72, which is regarded as adequate for testing differences between groups.

In administration, a Likert-type format was employed, with the student asked to indicate his degree of agreement/disagreement with such statements as:

> I think we will always have wars between countries no matter what we do to try to stop it.
>
> A man who gets a good job is just lucky to be at the right place at the right time.
>
> I feel I have little influence over the way other people act.

Socioeconomic status was assessed by a scale devised by McGuire and White (1955), whose standards seemed most applicable to our particular population. Their weighted index involves occupation, source of income, and education. The higher the score, the lower the status. The subject's status was determined by rating that of the family head, in most cases his father.

RESULTS

In order to study the influence of socioeconomic status on powerlessness scores, I divided the sample into *high* versus *low* groups as nearly equal in size as possible. The median score obtained, 64.5, is regarded by McGuire and White as in the lower range of upper-lower class scores. Descriptively, then, youngsters from families rated lower-lower were contrasted with those ranging higher, mostly upper-lower, but a few middle. The distribution obtained was in keeping with impressions of the region which, aside from a few urban centers, is not as prosperous or technologically advanced as many other rural areas.

The relevant results are summarized in Table 1. From the raw numbers involved, it is evident that in this particular sampling, more white youngsters came from families ranked high than did Negro ($P < .05$ by chi-square test). This is in accord with the nature of the jobs typically available to Negroes in this area.

From the two-way analysis of variance presented in Table 2, it is shown that the hypothesized relationship of Felt Powerlessness to social class is strongly supported—if the variance "within groups" is accepted as the error estimate. The hypothesis about race is also strongly supported. Nevertheless, although the interaction variance is not significant, it is substantial, and our conclusion must therefore be phrased with caution.

For example, the product-moment correlation between socioeconomic ranking and powerlessness score in the white sample is —.403 ($P < .001$). Among the Negro adolescents, it is only .05—no relationship. Similarly, Felt Powerlessness is really only notably different among the socioeconomically high samples. The mean for the white, high group

Table 1. Mean scores on Felt Powerlessness of Groups differing in socioeconomic status and race[a]

	Socioeconomic Status		
Race	High	Low	Total
White	32.6 *63*	38.1 *57*	35.2 *120*
Negro	38.5 *21*	38.3 *39*	38.4 *60*
Total	34.1 *84*	38.2 *96*	

[a] Number of cases on which each mean is based is given in italics.

Table 2. Analysis of variance of Felt Powerlessness scores with respect to socioeconomic status and race

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	Calculated Variance Ratio
Total	179	10,120		
Within groups (error)	176	8,821	50.119	
Socioeconomic status	1	754	754.000	15.04**
Race	1	389	389.000	7.76*
Interaction of race with socioeconomic status	1	156	156. 00	3.11

* Significant at the .01 level.
** Significant at the .001 level.

is significantly lower than each of the others. It is race and class position, then, taken in combination, which produces the lower powerlessness score among the white, high group (see Table 1). Battle and Rotter, who were working with youngsters from families of whom many were truly middle class in both races, also found an interaction between ethnic group and social class. In their study "it can be seen that the most significant comparison is between the middle-class white as most 'internal' and the lower-class Negro as most 'external' " (1963: 487).

CONCLUSION

At present, much interest is focusing on the phenomenon of Felt Powerlessness as it is experienced among disadvantaged groups in our urban slums. In this research, I have been repeatedly impressed by the extent to which phenomena in our rural mountains parallel those reported by urban sociologists and social psychologists (e.g. Clark et al., 1964). Here, as elsewhere, a sense of powerlessness may affect anyone, but it is less likely to be as strong among youngsters who are white, and in more secure life circumstances.

24 PORTRAIT OF A DROPOUT

JOHN FANNING

The dropout should be one of the primary concerns of the Appalachian teacher. The following "portrait" attempts to look at the reasons behind dropping out through the eyes of one individual. John Fanning is the editor of THE MOUNTAIN CALL.

The Mountain Call, August-September 1974. Used by permission.

"School again," one student would say while waiting for the bus. Then, drooping his head, he would try to shake away memories of happy summer days spent by the streams and in the hills nurturing his own dreams as well as his own orneriness. To face the day is the question he ponders waiting on cold autumn mornings by the icy road which shook the bus violently as it drove over the pot-holed pavement.

Destination: a school perhaps 40 minutes away; a place full of excitement, boredom, talk and gossip; a place where days are spent listening to the sounds of basketballs dribbling across the gym floor or sitting outside chewing tobacco and smoking cigarettes. Getting off the bus, there might be some notice of the way he is dressed and word would start getting around that some girl has taken a liking to him. Before long, so and so plus so and so would be the most often used mathematical symbols.

After waiting anxiously, the bus would again come, taking him on the long trip home, where he would do a few chores and try to get away from the house. Putting the algebra book down, he goes outside and something sweeps him away: a fishing pole, rifle, friend, or pony. The next day would be about the same except that maybe a snow had covered the land and the bus would slip dangerously close to the edge of the mountain. Perhaps he will have to walk to the bus line like some do—one, two or maybe even three miles.

The dark morning road would be lit by a flashlight or the two bright beams of the bus moving at a slow, shaky pace. Looking ahead, the inner parts of a flower would seem just as remote through the frost-covered window as the biology class that awaits him, its teacher looking at him and telling him once again that he should study more if he expects to be promoted.

He just couldn't get interested, he tells the teacher who thinks that the boy is worthless, lazy, ignorant or perhaps degenerate. The teacher might promote him, but instead the boy drops out, facing the same sort of days he had during the short, happy summers, except that shortly a family of his own will have replaced a few dreams, and his orneriness might have completely disapeared. He would now be able to see that his life is essentially the same as everyone else's nearby, all his friends working at the same mill or mine or on some road unfortunately other than their own. Everyone he sees as fitting into this sort of routine which flows smoothly, highlighted by the exciting coon chase, or the birth of a calf or pony or child; or underlined by more serious moments when hearing of uncle's death or the loss of a corn crop to some blight. Life would go on essentially between points of gain and despairing loss, at which time he will finger through pages of the Bible for comfort.

He will find that he has learned to confront life, to be tough, and he may begin to get settled in his ways. Suddenly he will hear of his own son getting involved in some goings-on down at a local tavern, or just as jarring an experience would be his younger son's success at school, his sincere desire to learn and to seek dimensions difficult to comprehend.

The value of education would suddenly shake the crust from our dropout's mind, as all of a sudden there is this vague, unfamiliar emptiness, perhaps shame, or a tendency to solidify his notions even more as his son talks about the size of the universe or the bitterness of struggles, wars and revolutions. The value of the education he once rejected would then be realized and there will be a groping feeling that wants to be a part of the times, and more importantly he will want to learn of the use of his mind to overcome fears and superstitions which have clouded his thoughts with ignorance. He watches the news or some TV documentary and realizes reasons for the sudden loss of his job or the unbearably high prices he must pay to live comfortably. He wants to learn, and after a while he learns that he can change his despairing, drab existence by some new knowledge on how to create something of worth through a combined effort of mind and body. This thing, a better cabin, painting, plough or a mill to grind flour, would fully fulfill his desire for a sense of purpose, beauty and order, and would be a testament to the value of what he has learned.

Sometime it might dawn on him how much more he should know, and the pictures of his high school days would return empty of any knowledge, a dissapointing, aimless feeling that he had dropped out and let his mind go to waste. But then there was something else lacking about those days long ago. Perhaps it wasn't his own fault, because he knows he has touched the spark of learning he must have always had from the time he first asked his mother what made fire.

No, there was something else that went wrong that prevented his young, curious mind from pursuing its desire to know. It was something beyond his control. The school was too far away, the mornings too cold or rainy, and suddenly there was this school, its teachers bunched together for coffee or out on the sidewalk smoking. They would look at him and their eyes would look away indifferently. There was a sense of guilt. Then he would find himself glorified in a small game of basketball on the parking lot courts.

His mind distracted by so many things, he went to class half-conscious of what the teacher was saying. The teacher would be behind her pulpit scratching strange symbols. But what were they, he now wonders. The class was too big; there were too many people around with the same nervous distraction and everyone wanted to imitate Jimmy or

Dale who would sit and crack jokes or throw spitballs across the room, followed by excited giggles, or the climactic scene of a rear end burning under the teacher's angry slashing. The serious smart ones would be apart from the rest of the class, but there was no tendency to follow their example, and most students didn't really care that much anyway.

Our dropout will continue to ponder the meaning and value of the educational institution and frequently there will be doubts and confusion. Perhaps if he had applied himself, some wonder, maybe he could have made it. But these people may not realize the total existence of this boy who sits through class waiting anxiously for the final bell to ring. There will be no effort to know about him, but of course there are opinions, meaningless categories which block and prevent any understanding of that boy. The lack of interest is shared between the student and the teacher, for there is little real contact between them other than a few hard stares or an embarrassing moment in front of the class—all of which seems to make the whole effort of learning useless and threatening. If there is one thing that can be illustrated through our portrayal of a dropout it is the destructive nature of the class which lacks the dimension of individual contact and understanding, an important ingredient in the learning process. Classes seem too large, and with conditions of economic deprivation there is increased impairment of contact.

Experiments in some Virginia schools have demonstrated to a certain extent that smaller classes provide a solution to the dropout problem. In a small classroom, say around eight to ten students, one-to-one correspondence between teacher and student would seem much more effective. But before anything can be effective the teacher must strive to understand each student and his or her individual existence. The teacher must seek knowledge from the class and in turn there is something important that the teacher must instill in students. And that is to learn to question, if not vocally, silently, the value of what they are being taught. It is easy for students to develop fears of their teachers and this is something that a teacher must be sensitive to and act in a positive and sincere manner to correct. The small classroom could prevent a tendency for the class to follow the behavior of certain cliques which help determine the overall attitudes and beliefs of the class, therefore maintaining the low level of achievement.

If the educational system is to be meaningful it must perform what it sets out to do and that is to influence children to learn willingly. The effort must work, and if it doesn't, there must be something wrong. The small class, or a class organized to have complete student-teacher contact such as is possible in a one-room school, could improve the quality of education and eventually slow down the high dropout rate among mountain people. Possibly a grave mistake on the part of the state boards of education was the discontinuance of the mountain schools throughout many areas of Appalachia. The small class or school concept has worked effectively elsewhere in similar social conditions, and if more money could be made available, the concept could be employed in places not so far removed from the hills and hollows where our dropout once had to wait for the crowded bus.

25 FROM APPALACHIAN GENESIS

Appalshop Films of Whitesburg, Kentucky, is presently producing the top quality films on the Appalachian Region. The following is an excerpt from Appalachian Genesis *which was filmed in 1971 and contains interviews with young people concerning their attitudes towards schooling and their local school system (Letcher County, Kentucky) in particular.*

SCENE 1—STREET INTERVIEW—HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Carl (Interviewer)	"What do you all think about the Letcher County School system in general? What do you think about it? Your personal opinion."
John	"It's lousy!"
Ann	"I think it stinks!"
Carl	"Why?"
Ann	"It's just screwed up! I mean, there's nothing to it."
Carl	"Whose fault is it?"
Ann	"The biggest part of it, I guess is (pause) I don't know."
Carl	"Is it politics?"
Frances	"Partly."
Carl	"Do you (Frances) have an opinion on it?"
Frances	"Well, there's much room for improvement. A great deal of it has to do with politics. The whole system is based on politics. The whole system is based on politics, I think, which indirectly affects the students themselves. Because they have a part in it too, I mean, their daddys and mothers are politicians."
Carl	"What do you (Judy) think about it?"

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Judy "I don't like it. Nobody cares about it. Nobody thinks a thing about it."

Carl "Do you think it's the teacher's fault?"

Judy "Partly, it belongs to everybody. There's not enough students who care enough about it to do anything about it, and the teachers don't want to help the students get organized."

SCENE 2—SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, KENDALL BOGGS' OFFICE

Bill (Interviewer) "Do you have a student council?"

Mr. Boggs "I don't believe they do. I believe they started a few years ago. I'm not sure they've kept it up. I don't think they did."

Bill "There's no real interest to start. . .?"

Mr. Boggs "Science club, they have a science club, of course. And, ah. . ."

Bill "Do they have a student government and no interest?"

Mr. Boggs "I wouldn't want to say for sure there, I don't believe they have that. They were organizing a future (pause) I mean a parent student teacher (pause) parent student teacher association. Is that the way you say it? They're organizing that. P - S - T - A, is that it? They organized that this year, of course."

SCENE 3—RETURN TO STREET INTERVIEW—HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Ann "Something needs to be done!"

Carl "What? Can you tell me what?"

Ann "Rioting would help if you could get the students all to stick together, to do one thing, instead of flying out this way and going in different directions; if you could get them to all going for one thing."

Frances "Well, the kids have to, as you say (Ann), unite. They're going to have to get a big enough body in order that they'll have to listen to us. I mean, we're not going to burst through the door at first, maybe, but we'll have to get enough people, you know, together, to go up, and they have to listen to us.

Mike "Yeah! I'd hate to quit school, but, the subjects are pretty easy and all that, but just the teachers; they ain't got the right kind of teachers up there."

Carl "What's wrong with them?"

Mike "Well, like I said a minute ago, they're just grouchy and they don't help you do nothin'."

Carl "The teachers generally, do they want to work for the class, or help the class out, or just. . .?"

Cathy "Most of them don't. They're just there, and that's it, getting paid for nothin'."

SCENE 4—ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Nick "That's one of the attitudes because everybody when they go to college around here, the young kids that do go to college that finish, they all teach school because that's the one thing you can get a job at around here if your politics are right, you know, you can get a job teaching. It's simply a matter of the teacher wanting to stay here and wanting to have an income, a way to live here. I'd say eighty percent of them aren't interested in teaching at all, but it's a means, a job that brings in a paycheck."

Gerald "Remember, Sherman, when you was going down here to school? Why don't you say a little something about the school lunch issue? I know I remember you saying that you stood up on the stage going hungry many a times."

Sherman "Yeh! I know all about that!"

Gerald "And watched them eat, didn't you Sherman?"

Sherman "Yeh, I set down there at ____________ Elementary School, set right down there up on the stage and watched little children starve down there and not eat a bite every day down there for about six or seven hours til school turns out. Sit down there and them big school teachers walk up there and they give the school children one cup of milk and the school teachers gets two cups. And that there Mr. __________ been taken money off'n the school kids down there, a quarter every day, and been sticking it right in their billfolds, and it government food, it free like that. I don't see how in the world they do it, but they did."

Nick "In other words, even if you qualified for lunches and could pay, they would still make you pay. If you couldn't pay and qualified for free or reduced price lunches then you simply did without while the others ate."

Sherman "Dagone right! Sure is the truth!"

SCENE 5—ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION CONTINUATION

Sherman I think it can be possible that people, young people that don't care about workin' no more, which I don't, I can take a drink and that satisfies me, but here they go smokin' that grass and stuff (and) it's not worth a damn to 'em (and) they ought to know better. They should just pull out from that for good. And people right now, school teachers, and they's people went to college, buddy, that can't do nothin' that a man never went to the second grade never did do. Peoples went to the second grade way back there used to write on an old piece of slate, they can do more than people thats went to college right now maybe eight or nine years of college or some kind of school. They don't know nothin' about it right now.

Gerald So you're saying that the educational system you got right now ain't worth nothin' then. Is that right Sherman?

Sherman It ain't worth nothin', no!

Gerald They ain't learnin' nothin'?

Sherman Young people, if they want to open their ears up and listen, while they'll listen; if they don't why they'll go about their business.

26 THE SCHOOL AND POLITICS

PETER SCHRAG

One of the great problems of schools in Appalachia has been their inability to function successfully within a close-knit, financially conservative, and sometimes corrupt political system. The author views the only hope as being the development of educational political clout. Educators must be the agents of political and social change. Mr. Schrag is the former education editor of SATURDAY REVIEW.

Education in the mountain counties of Appalachia is the product of a nearly perfect system. Poverty, politics, and the catatonic consequences of deprivation and exploitation have left most of the mountain schools generations behind the rest of the nation. In their isolation, they educate children for the community and for the futility that

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surrounds them. In preparing children for the larger world they deal with the irrelevant.

The symptoms of the disease are easy to enumerate. In virtually every category by which we measure educational achievement the schools of Appalachia represent extremes. Many of them lack the personnel and facilities for modern instruction in foreign languages and science—indeed many of their high schools teach no foreign languages at all; they rank low in the percentage of graduates going on to higher education but they are high in the percentage of dropouts—sometimes as high as 85 percent between first and twelfth grades; their students, even those who finish, stand low on standard reading comprehension tests—low enough so that in most instances graduates of mountain high schools are on a par with tenth graders in other parts of the country. Many Appalachian school systems have no libraries, no laboratories, sometimes not even adequate gymnasiums despite the area's passion for athletics. Their teachers are undertrained, underpaid and—if they are conscientious—overworked. But the system rarely rewards the conscientious. Often it protects the incompetent.

To a visitor in the mountain schools, the discourse in the classroom has a kind of somnambulistic unreality about it, almost as if the participants were playing school or performing a little play purporting to represent real education. No one knows his lines well because the dialogue is about something far away and not understood by the participants: the French revolution, or the mechanics of city government as described in a civics text, or the economics of market capitalism as imagined by the Chamber of Commerce in 1928. Textbook clichés abound and no one makes much effort to relate them even to the limited experiences of the students in the class. Concurrently, the conscientious teachers find that their students cannot read or even speak adequately; their language is so remote from literate English that it sometimes appears like a foreign tongue. The words appearing on the students' papers come out as "attinshun," "mintion," the "Application" mountains.

But listing problems—the one-room schools, the children who lack shoes, the difficulties of transportation, the many small districts—does not explain the fundamental pathology of Appalachian education. It does not explain, for example, how it is that even when more funds are made available there is hardly anyone who can use them effectively. It does not explain how new programs tend to become enmired in the sump of old political styles, how the wives and brothers and cousins of the county politicians are suddenly put in charge of local poverty or educational improvement programs, or how the circle of futility seems to renew itself year after year, despite all the national attention that has been focused upon it. There are, without question, major exceptions to the general pattern, as well as significant efforts to upgrade life and education in the mountains. There are competent, dedicated teachers and principals, conscientious superintendents, and effective school boards. The Eastern Kentucky Resource Development Project, the Council of the Southern Mountains, and other state and private agencies have made an impact on the region. Yet most of these individuals and organizations have left the prevailing educational-political structures untouched: essentially they have conducted rescue operations, teaching skills and organizing small community development or rehabilitation projects while leaving the system unchanged.

What is the system? Basically it is a self-contained social mechanism isolated physically and culturally from the outside world, although partially sustained by the public funds for education and welfare that the outside world provides. Its elements include chronic unemployment of an industrial population, a historic neglect of formal education, a lack of cultural capital, a political structure founded on family associations and nepotism, and exploitative coal industry controlled by irresponsible absentee ownership, and, increasingly, a tradition of dependency and helplessness. Harry M. Caudill, the author of *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, and one of the most eloquent voices in Appalachia, has called the region the "vast paleface reservation"—an area exhibiting all the signs of institutional dependency associated with people who have adjusted to a life where all decisions, and even identity itself, are determined by the keepers of the institution. Some of the outside poverty workers who have come to the mountains in recent years have been continually frustrated by their inability to convince mountain people that they have (at least in theory) rightful access to school superintendents, county judges, and other local officials. The eminences of the county seats—small-time politicians, all of them—have attained Olympian stature in the eyes of many of their oppressed mountain constituents. For years they have been taught to depend on the small blessings that trickle from these lesser village gods; jobs as bus drivers and lunchroom employees, leniency in misdemeanor cases, perhaps a little extra welfare assistance for a needy cousin. People who question or criticize lose favor with the power, and even tenured school teachers, presumably protected by law, can be exiled to one-room schools in distant hollows. Thus much of the new money—and therefore the power—is not associated with the federal government. It does not come from Washington, or even from the state capital, but from the county courthouse and from the office of the county school superintendent.

From such a base the remainder of the system can operate without disturbance. The better graduates of the mountain schools either leave for the cities in the North and West or they continue their education at the mountain teachers' colleges, from which, after four years of poor training, they return to their home counties to take charge of the classrooms they had left as students not many years before. "Outsiders wouldn't be happy here," said a county superintendent, explaining why he was not interested in recruiting beyond his own area. Outsiders, of course, are reluctant to come in anyway, given the pay and the conditions. But the few who might are generally suspect: they have strange ideas, they are not beholden to the local machines and they may be interested in change. And there is always somebody's cousin who needs a job.

Because of physical and cultural isolation, the view of these communities is limited. Nothing comes in, while the best of the local resources—the coal, the human energy, the talent—flows out of the region with little or no return. The middle-class burghers of the county seats—small businessmen, coal operators, lawyers—who often congratulate themselves on their generosity, behave with the wisdom of a lumpen proletariat when it comes to the genuine problems of the community. Dependent themselves on the existing structure, they often tend to deny the existence of chronic unemployment, of regional decay and of home-grown corruption. Like those of the federal government, their charitable acts leave the essential structure untouched; rather, they serve simply to keep the waste and misery from becoming too unconscionable. The effect, if not the intent, is to keep the natives sufficiently dependent in order to prevent any fundamental change from taking place.

As so often happens in every isolated depressed society, the most fearful are often those who have risen a notch above the rest, and who are now in a position to act. Their ability to effect changes is also the ability to repress and to maintain the status quo, and this is the course they often take. No foreign industry—whether it is a coal company or a crowd of banana imperialists—can operate successfully without native allies, without a local army of lawyers, foremen, and judges who can enforce the laws and customs perpetuating the system. In Appalachia, those laws permit the extraction of coal almost untaxed and they permit strip mining to be carried on with only the barest regard for the land and streams and homes that it ravages each year. (Recently Kentucky adopted legislation to control some of these activities. The question is whether succeeding administrations will enforce it.)

The local leaders permit—even encourage—irrelevant education based on books and classes that kill questioning and curiosity, that discourage change and that reinforce existing fears and superstitions. As a consequence, no cultural capital has been accumulated. Each generation begins with the ideas and attitudes of those that preceded it, lacking the resources, the books, the ideas and the experience to go beyond the highest point reached by the one before it. Thus the cycle is repeated. Appalachia is now raising its third welfare generation.

Within the system, education is only a sideline, while schools, as sources of power and income, are major institutions. Political dynasties are founded on the job of the school superintendent who often controls not only his own school board and the jobs the schools provide, but other county offices as well. The addition of federal funds, as presently allocated, merely reinforces the existing structure.

It is impossible to break this system by attacking it in one place only. The construction of a few schoolhouses, the assignment of VISTA workers, or even the development of a huge new highway program are likely to be encapsulated in old political structures and practices. It is only at the point when a significant number of local individuals begin to develop a sense of control—and enough anger to act—that changes are likely to begin. The Kentucky strip-mining laws passed within the last year were the product of local organizations and local power, people who discovered almost accidentally a common sense of anger over the destruction of their land. Their subsequent march on Frankfort and the pressure they exercised on the legislature appear to be a model for similar political acts in other areas and on other problems.

The average mountaineer is fully committed to the idea of education for his children, but often he does not know, and cannot know, what effective education is, or how it can be achieved. One of the prime tasks of any social action program is to describe to him how his children are being systematically cheated, and how his own commitment to existing political practices has undermined education in the classroom. He has to learn that a high school diploma from a mountain school is not enough, that it symbolizes little unless it is backed by the hard currency of good teaching. He has to learn that education in the mountains can no longer be merely education for the mountains, that it must also be education for the economy and the society and the problems of the world beyond. He must, in a sense, be made the agent of change, must discover, as the Southern Negro has discovered, that he can develop political muscle, and that if he chooses to act the world will respond. In this respect any social action must be subversive. As long as new support and new programs are simply tied to old machines, the machines will use them as they always have in the past, and the system will continue forever.

27 ALICE'S WONDERLAND OR SCHOOL BOOKS ARE FOR BANNING

PAUL KAUFMAN

The school textbook problems in Kanawha County, West Virginia, received national attention in 1974. The implications for all school systems are embodied in this struggle and similar situations will be faced by many teachers and administrators in the future. Mr. Kaufman is a practicing attorney, a former state senator, a Charlestonian, and a product of the Kanawha school system.

"A majority of the people believe that all expressions in the Bible are factually true. . . ."

"These books alienate children from traditional views."

"We should show [in school textbooks] that there are things worth fighting for, like the defense of our country—and not talk so much about peace and revolution."

"Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, and George Jackson are murderers, thieves and rapists and should not be presented [to school children] in a non-judgmental way. . . ."

"It's depressing for kids to read about ghettoes, criminal acts and people living in poverty as in the writings of Dick Gregory and James Baldwin."

"Teachers cannot be allowed total academic freedom in a compulsory education setting. . . ."

"Situation ethics is alien to the majority. . . . It's wrong to imply that stealing may be right under certain circumstances."

"It's a lie to say that black children don't have opportunities in this country. . . ."

"Textbooks with examples of the worst of life encourage kids to do the wrong thing."

"The story of 'Androcles and the Lion' should not be coupled in any way with 'Daniel in the Lion's Den' for fear that 'Daniel,' like 'Androcles,' will be taken to be a fable."

"Teachers shouldn't be allowed to teach the difference between right and wrong, between good and evil . . . parental guidance is the sole legally constituted authority in teaching children moral values."

"The no-morality approach to sex education violates my religious convictions. . . ."

Appalachian Journal, Spring 1975. Used by permission.

"I object to the humanistic approach to family life, and to moral behavior being taught by the schools. . . ."

"The secondary and elementary schools are being taken over by a humanistic, atheistic attack on God."

So said Alice Moore, dissenting member of the Kanawha County (West Virginia) Board of Education. Of such stuff was the great textbook dispute of 1974 made.

Kanawha is West Virginia's most populous county. It has about 250,000 people (1/7 of the state's total population), 70,000 of whom live in the capital city of Charleston located on the Kanawha River which flows through the Kanawha Valley. Despite the presence of major chemical industries such as DuPont, Union Carbide, FMC, and Monsanto, with a heavy concentration of PhD's, much of the county is rural, non-farm in character with a strong coal mining flavor.

Many of the people belong to churches like the Freedom Gospel Mission, Freewill Baptist, Church of the Nazarene, Glorious Church of God in Christ, Mount Calvary Missionary Baptist, United Pentecostal, and The Living Word Christian Center. Those who attend these churches are, in a great many cases, employed at the plants and in the mines. Because of the roving pickets who roamed the county during the textbook controversy, as many as 10,000 coal miners and industrial workers were idled at one time or another.

There are some 14,000 school districts in the United States. Kanawha County is among the 50 largest and is considered better than average in the quality of its instructional material. One school, George Washington High in Charleston, consistently produces an unusually large number of Merit Scholars.

Nevertheless, Bible-Belt Christians were in open revolt against a school system which they saw as subversive of God and country. Like Ivan Illich and other proponents of deschooling (with whom Alice Moore's followers wouldn't be caught dead), they view the schools as the source of all evil.

Interestingly, the very qualities that the deschoolers believe are lacking in our schools, namely, the promotion of human values and the essential oneness of man, the textbook protesters discern in obnoxious abundance. But the deschoolers and the anti-textbook crowd find common ground with millions of other Americans when they deplore the pathological professionalism in the schools which tends to treat children like robots.

Citizens appointed by the Board of Education to review the disputed books split on almost every issue. But one thing met with general agreement—the necessity for meaningful citizen (non-professional) input into textbook selection and other school activities. There was also a strong feeling among all those involved, except school administrators, that school administrators must be accountable to the entire community. Nevertheless, it is doubtless true, as one writer observed, that "existing [educational] institutions, for all their inequalities, offer guarantees against even greater inequality."

In May of 1974, the Kanawha County Board of Education considered a list of new English textbooks recommended by the Superintendent of Schools for use in primary and secondary schools during the next five years. If all had gone according to custom, these books would have been adopted in short order. But such action, desired by most of the five member Board, was delayed long enough for one Board member, Alice Moore, to attack the books as un-American and un-Christian. The books, used in some 15 other states, ultimately were approved as "highly motivational, appealing to all groups of students and supportive of positive American Values."

Not to be denied, Mrs. Moore carried her fight to the county's numerous fundamental churches which had helped elect her to the school board four years before. Her husband, Rev. Darrell Moore, is a minister of the fundamentalist Church of Christ.

By the time the Board met again in June, Mrs. Moore had rallied some 1,000 supporters to attend the meeting and make their views felt. The Board, having approved the books, was required to vote on their purchase. Book advocates as well as opponents appeared at the meeting to express their opinions. By a three to two vote, the Board directed that all but eight of the some 325 books be purchased. The deleted eight included authors Sigmund Freud, e. e. cummings, and Eldridge Cleaver. The Board's action did little to pacify the anti-textbook people.

At summer's end, the book protest had spread to the coal fields (Kanawha is one of the largest coal-producing counties in one of the two largest coal-producing states), then to the Valley's industrial plants. Every mine in the county was closed, school buses were stopped, the schools were shut down, two persons were shot, and the entire community was polarized.

In response to an appeal to union members of UMWA President Arnold Miller and a compromise proposal by School Superintendent Kenneth Underwood involving temporary withdrawal of all disputed books from the schools, the schools were reopened. The picketing and protesting subsided momentarily.

Alice Moore is the product of a rural, southern background. She came from Amory, Mississippi, where she had married at the age of 16 and graduated from Amory High School. She has four children. "Sweet Alice," as she is called by some, is a comely brunette in her early thirties who, by her own admission, is mostly self-educated. Her sincerity and her singular persistence, indeed her zealousness, is undeniable. Those who oppose her find her calm and cool, but determined, and generally well prepared. "Sweet Alice does her homework," a fellow Board member once observed ruefully.

Mrs. Moore was employed as a clerk at a seed and feed store in Charleston in 1970, just a few years after moving to West Virginia from Mississippi, when she decided to run for the Board of Education, mainly on an anti-sex education platform. Her pledge was, if elected, to rid the schools of all "humanistic teachings." She was elected by a bare plurality, and with a tenacity matched only by her consistency, Alice Moore appears well on the way to fulfilling that pledge. Already she has succeeded in stopping virtually all sex education, a program which had been in Kanawha County schools in one form or another for some 40 years.

State Board of Education guidelines directing that all classroom material "must accurately portray minority and ethnic group contributions to American growth and culture and . . . depict and illustrate the intercultural character of our pluralistic society" succeeded in persuading Kanawha County, at least, to choose textbooks and supplemental readings which do just that.

For perhaps the first time, Kanawha County students were given a realistic look at the works of black authors who describe, from their perspective, the manifold deprivations and despair suffered by a large percentage of Americans. The textbook protestors deny that racial prejudice had anything to do with their protest. Nonetheless, it was these books which provoked the outcry that gave Alice Moore the opportunity to make her move to eradicate humanism from the schools. When reminded that the books simply reflect life as it is, Mrs. Moore responded that textbooks should show life as it should be, not life as it is.

"The special curse is racism—always denied yet always in the shadows," said Peter Schrag, writing in August of 1970. "In the cosmology of extremism, it seems to be a necessary component. The long lost world of innocence kept niggers in their place (without federal interference). . . . . God's people (white Christians) must resist the forces of evil. The Radical Right view of the good life—schizophrenic though it is—is of an essentially white, simple country people,—too shy or embarrassed to join Birch or MOTOREDE but who nonetheless share their ideas. There's a new confidence in the voices of the Far Right, speaking to people who feel disregarded by everyone else. . . ."

MOTOREDE (Movement to Restore Decency) and MOMS (Mothers Organized for Moral Stability) played a prominent role in Alice

Moore's successful campaign for the Board of Education. At least two members of her campaign committee (Citizens for Parent Action) were admitted John Birchers.

The textbook controversy raged for some five months. It was punctuated by mass meetings, marches, boycotts, shootings, beatings, numerous jailings, fire bombing of schools, the resignation of school Board member Albert Anson (an FMC executive), the arrest of three other school Board members on charges of contributing to the delinquency of minors brought by a protesting parent before a county magistrate, the resignation of Superintendent Underwood, the castigation of Governor Arch Moore by his state party chairman for failing to use the state police to protect the people and the schools from acts of violence (he is said to see inaction as being politically expedient), and intervention locally by the National Education Association and by the Ku Klux Klan. The most bizarre happening involved protest leader Rev. Charles Quigley of the Cathedral of Prayer who publicly involved God's wrath to strike dead the three Board of Education members who supported "the books."

Protesting parents were urged by some of their leaders to find the pages in the books which contain offensive language, tear out the page and then send the books back to school (all books belong to the Board of Education and are on loan to the students). One mother with whom I spoke had done this. When I asked her if such an act of vandalism doesn't set the kind of bad example which she complained the books were guilty of, she responded, "Yes, but my child doesn't know it was me who tore the pages out."

In resigning, Board member Anson, a Presbyterian, remarked, "These are good textbooks. They are not anti-Christian and anti-American. In fact, our children have learned more about un-American and un-Christian behavior in the past few weeks from some of the adult population than the schools could teach in 12 years."

The First Amendment issue is a sticky one. Though many citizens would defend, if not encourage, the dissenting parents to participate, to speak out, few condone the vandalism and violence which has too often marked the course of the dispute. George Washington, whose patriotism can hardly be questioned, would not have approved.

"Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind," said the Father of our country, "those which are caused by difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes that the enlightened and liberal policy, which has marked the present age, would at least have reconciled Christians of every denomination so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of our society."

The end is not yet in sight despite the fact that the offending textbooks were removed from the schools, pending the findings of the citizens' review team. (On the recommendation of the citizens' review team, the books were returned to the schools.) Like their Catholic counterparts in South Boston's anti-busing battle, the Kanawha County Protestant fundamentalists fight on. Recently, objections were raised about certain titles found in school libraries, including Melville's *Moby Dick*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics*.

Rev. Lewis Harrah was one of the more moderate of the protesters. What he termed the irreverent use of "God" (as in, "God save us"), the nonjudgmental open-ended stories about stealing and lying, the equation of the divine with the mythical (according to his interpretation of certain readings), offend his religious sensibilities. He is the pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ. Yet he said that if he could teach these same stories himself in his Sunday School, they would not be objectionable. He has little faith in the public schools, and stated that he knew one teacher who is an atheist. He objects to showing monkeys and mice praying, as is done in one reader. Yet he does not disagree with the proposition that all life is sacred, that all are God's creatures and that animals, like humans, deserve our love.

Rev. Harrah originally proposed that an alternate set of books be provided by the school system for the benefit of those children who found the controversial ones objectionable. Later, he organized the Conquerors Christian Education Center. Dissenting parents then were urged to send their children to the Center or to other Christian schools in preference to the public schools.

Proponents of the disputed texts saw Rev. Harrah's original suggestion leading to fragmentation of the educational process, impossible to handle from the teachers' standpoint. Nevertheless, the Board of Education has agreed to make alternative materials available in the public schools to any child or parent who requests them. But Alice Moore has said there can be no compromise. "The books must go because their contents might be disclosed accidentally to objectors even with alternate texts available. Besides, it wouldn't be possible [under Supreme Court rulings] for alternative materials to contain the kind of Christian material our children should be exposed to," she said. At her insistance the County Board of Education has adopted guidelines on book selection which many fear will strengthen her position considerably in future attacks on books which she considers to be unworthy.

The writer of one of thousands of letters to the editor which poured into newspapers around the country had this to say: ". . . if someone had told me a few months ago that there were people in the United States of America who would approve the textbooks, I would not have believed there were people that dirty. These books are the second Communist Act. The first was taking prayer and the Bible out of schools. These books are to put devils in. . . ." Rev. Ezra Graley, another anti-textbook leader, said the purpose of the books was "to degrade our children."

Arnold Miller's plea for the miners to return to work fell on receptive ears. Most UMWA officials were more concerned with saving their membership's strength for pending contract negotiations with the coal operators and a possbile prolonged strike than in wasting themselves on what they see as a religious issue unrelated to their jobs. Some may have recalled the words of Mother Jones who, in 1912, at Charleston said to coal miners gathered there:

"Jesus don't know anymore about you than a dog does about his father . . . you build churches and give to the Salvation Army and all the auxiliaries of capitalism that support you while they hoodwink you."

Alice Moore continued to appeal to the miners for support, but her influence with union members was blunted by her oppotition to school teachers' right to organize for collective bargaining purposes.

For the most part, the affected school children objected to the removal of the books and supported their teachers. One 7th grader wrote in a letter to a local newspaper: "I don't think there is anything wrong with those books. There is nothing in them we don't hear in the streets or [see] on television."

Perhaps there's the rub. Many of us, as in the case of Alice Moore, don't like what we hear in the streets or see on television. For different reasons, we would prefer to shut out the world as it is and rebuild it in another image. But in a pluralistic, multi-racial polyglot society such as ours—in whose image do we rebuild?

28 APPALACHIAN SCHOOLS — A CASE OF CONSISTENCY

JAMES R. OGLETREE

Nearly all of the individuals and agencies concerned with efforts to improve the social and economic situation in Appalachia have emphasized the importance of developing the human resources of the region. Education is generally seen as being the best method of expanding the human resources of Appalachia. However, as the following article indicates, the quality of education available in many rural areas raises serious questions about the capacity of the schools to meet the challenge by developing their potential as change agents. Dr. Ogletree is currently a professor of education at the University of Kentucky.

Schools in Appalachia, like schools in other sections of America, are a direct reflection of the social-political-economic structure of the society which has created and maintained them. All known societies have established procedures for inducting their young into full adult membership. In some cultures these procedures are found to be rather informal while in others they are more formal and even extremely complex. Yet, there always exists some "rite-of-passage" through which a society passes on to its young those valued experiences which have maintained that society and which have been formally or informally institutionalized in the people's social fabric.

In this country, as in many others, our forefathers found it both essential and convenient to assign a major share of the responsibility for instructing the young in those accepted and valued ways of their society to an institution called the school. Although the function of the American school has evolved from its original assignment in this country to teach the young to read and interpret the *Bible* so that they can delude Satan (Satan Deluder Act of 1647), each subsequent emerging function has been consistent with the evolution of the social order itself. Consequently, it is not unusual that the schools of Appalachia are both products of as well as contributors to the social system which established and continues to maintain them. To understand these schools, one might well direct his attention first to an understanding of the social system of which they are integral parts.

One of the most insightful analyses of the inhabitants of Appalachia is that of Jack Weller. In 1965, his *Yesterday's People* was widely acclaimed in many circles as a uniquely significant contribution to an un-

Originally published by the Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1968. Revised, 1977.

derstanding of what he termed the Appalachian Mountaineer. Weller describes the people of this region as being highly *INDIVIDUALISTIC*—but not *INDEPENDENT*. They want for themselves and their families, but are not deeply concerned with people or events not directly associated with their own well being. Additionally, they are strongly oriented toward *TRADITION*, holding onto those things with which they are familiar and secure and somewhat hesitant to accept or seek new solutions to their persisting problems. They are somewhat *FATALISTIC*, capitalizing upon their fatalism as a kind of buffer against failure and disappointment and using it as an emotional justification of their status in life. Weller adds that these people are *SEEKERS OF ACTION*, rejecting those things (schools, for example) which tend to be routine. They do not want to commit themselves in advance or for long periods of time, for the "action" might shift and they want to shift with it. These are people who seem wrought with what has been termed a *PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR* which can be described as an attitude or apprehension of being left out, of being unaccepted and [illegible] being overly dependent upon the known—the family group.

Finally, Weller described the Appalachian Mountaineer as being highly *PERSON ORIENTED* as contrasted with the typical middle classed American's being *OBJECT ORIENTED*. Herbert Gans (1962) in his *The Urban Villagers* described object-oriented persons as those who establish as their goals certain objects which lie outside themselves and who subordinate all else in order to achieve these object goals. The Mountaineer, however, seems to strive to establish himself as a person within his own immediate group.

According to Gans, object-oriented people tend to develop in an "open society" while person-oriented people flourish in a "closed" social structure. So it seems to have been in Appalachia. Its "Closed Society" has produced and in turn has been maintained by person-oriented inhabitants.

Further amplification of Weller's qualities or characteristics of "Yesterday's People" hardly seems necessary. To those familiar with the region, the characteristics are obvious, for the predominant structure of the society(ies) within Appalachia has (have) been and to a major degree continue(s) to be highly person-centered, traditionally oriented, somewhat beset with fears of newness or change, action (not routine) directed, somewhat fatalistic in terms of action requisite to improving their conditions and highly personally selfish or individualistic toward those not of their group.

It seems significant to point out that the personal qualities of the Appalachian people interacting with their social heritage, the geography and economic base of the region have generated a social-political structure designed to perpetuate many of these same phenomena. Until a few years ago, and to a large extent even today, one needs but to turn back the calendar to the Middle Ages and analyze the old Feudal System to find an historical parallel to the Appalachian people and their society. Yes, the social-political structure of Appalachia has been and somewhat remains only an updated version of the Feudal System of the Middle Ages. Consequently, like its forerunner, this social system has sought to maintain the status-quo and, therefore, has, in some respects, been somewhat stagnant relative to the remainder of society in this country. It has needed a Renaissance—a rebirth—to upset the static social equilibrium which has and, in some respects, continues to isolate it from the mainstream of American Society.

THE SCHOOLS

The preceding preamble sought to establish the point that a static social equilibrium seems to be a Key Stone of the social-political structure of what has been and in many instances remains an isolated, economically depressed geographic area. Let us now address ourselves to its schools.

The arrangement a state (and in this case a series of states) makes for educating its young represents one of its major-social systems-created for the purpose of achieving both clearly implied goals but vaguely stated purposes. Nevertheless, a state's educational system is a social system comprised of a series of sub-systems at lower governmental levels. Within each state, both the constitution and the legislature have established a legal framework within which a state board of education determines the policies of operating the state's schools. Typically, local districts are created as sub-systems and operate local schools under the limited control of a local board of education.

Some sociologists have come to classify social systems as "open" or "closed." These terms are currently being used in reference to school systems and their sub-systems (schools) which are "open" or "closed" to innovations in instructing society's young. Open systems, because of their drive to develop new solutions to age-old problems, are referred to as "self-renewing." Closed systems are those that, for whatever reasons, are preoccupied with meeting day-to-day demands and with maintaining the status quo. Regardless of type, educational systems (schools) develop as parts of their larger social system—the complex society of which they are a part. As such, they function primarily in consonance with this supporting parent system.

The educational systems—and their sub-systems (schools)—of the various states comprising Appalachia have in the past been predominantly "closed"—just as have the larger social systems of which they are a part. The earlier identified characteristics of the people and their subsequent social-political structure accompanied by several restrictive economic conditions have inhibited progress toward "openness." Such conditions invariably have resulted in an over preoccupation with self-maintenance or survival, thus leaving little time, energy or concern for altering that structure about which they are knowledgeable and with which they feel secure.

Because of such conditions, Appalachian schools have frequently been unable to, or even unconcerned with, breaking with the educational "is" to move toward an "ought to be." This point is clearly illustrated by a relatively recent description of the general characteristics of the administrative staffs and their operation in four Eastern Kentucky Counties.[1] These descriptions validated by widespread positive reactions from colleagues in Appalachia are here dangerously generalized to the region.

1. Children. Comparatively, many of the young in Appalachia have been physically and psychologically isolated from the type of normal educational and cultural opportunities available to most children. Not only are their communities culturally deprived but also the homes of many of these youngsters are devoid of even those amenities typically associated with the American home.

Children are healthier, however, than would appear likely from other factors operative in the region. For example, a 1968 health survey in Letcher County, Kentucky, revealed that the incidence of health problems among school-aged children there was not significantly different from that found nationally.

As one would expect, these children are of normal intelligence. As elsewhere, the normal I.Q. approximates the national average of 100. What is found, however, is that there are children whose social and cultural orientation and isolation frequently limits their ability to respond to standardized—culturally contaminated tests.

Another spin-off of the social-cultural environment surrounding the school child is low valuation of life's opportunities. He sees life in the community as his place. He tends to value this as part of his culture. Therefore, he often sees little relationship between "schooling" and a life "good to live."

2. Community Expectations—Support. As one would expect, "book learning" has little relevance for many of those in Appalachia. Particularly is this true of those who seem to need it most. Even though

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[1] Edmunds, F., Kincheloe, J. B., and Ogletree, J. R., *Developing Procedures for In-Service Education of School Administrators*, A Report U.S.O.E., Cooperative Research Project No. E-026, 1966.

schools are accepted as an established part of the tradition, expectations held for the schools tend to be strongly conditioned by local history. The tried and true seems good enough. Such an orientation, however, can only be viewed as being consistent with the socio-political structure operative within the region.

Low community expectations and valuation of schools is further illustrated by the low level of financial support afforded them. The history of bond issue failures seems disproportionate to the low economic level of many school districts. Property assessment and tax rates tend to be much lower in Appalachian counties in Kentucky, for example, than they are elsewhere in the state. The burden, then, for financing these schools thus often falls upon persons other than local residents. Several counties in Kentucky with tax assessments and rates far below the state average receive up to 85% of their non-federal support from the state and only 15% from local sources. Consequently, salaries and per-pupil expenditures in these districts are usually below the state average.

Possibly, the best summary relative to community expectations of the school is illustrated in the almost defiant remark of a resident to a school principal, "I send my boy to school, so you learn him."

3. Professional Staffs. Consistent with the overall social structure, most professional personnel are indigenous to the district within which they are employed and are extremely locally oriented. Those who are not, tend either to be married to local people or to be native of nearby counties. In one county over 83% are natives. To further this local-orientation, some school boards specifically give preference to a local person over an outside applicant even if the latter is better qualified.

Such staffs' local orientation is further illustrated by the fact that most of them attended colleges or universities close to their homes. To illustrate, over 86% of one county's staff had attended college within a seventy-five mile radius of their county and had returned home to teach. Only 6% of the staffs in four such counties had taught in another state.

These staffs are all participants in the formal organization of the schools. They are place-bound and therefore, consistent with their culture, often times tend to place local customs and values above their professional judgments.

4. Informally Organized. As one would expect, with personnel coming primarily from within the district and being familiar with local traditions, expectations and operations, many school districts have found it neither necessary nor desirable to operate with written school board policies or procedures. Like other segments of the social structure, schools are informally organized and operated.

One estimate is that fewer than 2% of Appalachian school districts in Kentucky have written school board policies and less than 5% have any other than State Department of Education curriculum guides. There have been few systematic curriculum development activities. Most schools are operated on the thesis of hire a teacher, assign him to a school and a grade, give him his books and let him teach.

5. Operational Characteristics of Administrators. Like teachers, most school administrators are natives of the districts within which they are employed and are place rather than career bound in their professional orientation. (Swapping Superintendents) This results in few attending or participating in national or even regional professional meetings. Their conversations with each other tend to be on personal matters and interests such as hunting or local politics rather than upon professional matters.

The ethics of these administrators also seem consistent with the earlier identified characteristics of the mountaineer. Since they are place-bound and people-oriented, many of them see nothing ethically wrong in a principal, teacher or some other school person openly running candidates for election to the school board in order to ascend to the position, even though the position is currently filled.

A further characteristic of these school administrators is that they tend not to fire a teacher for incompetency. Rather, they seem concerned only when a teacher's behavior results in community criticism. Their guiding principle often seems to be that of not creating problems. Their desire to retain their jobs appears so strong that they often appear incapable of actions, regardless of its professional soundness, which will result in controversy or problems, for then they might be fired.

It also seems that when professional needs or problems are identified, many of these administrators tend not to attack the problem but rather to talk about it. Repeatedly in many group discussions, administrative staffs have been unable or unwilling to attack a problem—rather they have repeatedly illustrated its existence. This is not meant to imply that action is not taken once a problem arises. It only suggests a restricted ability or willingness to conceptualize and treat long-range problems in a formal, systematic fashion.

As hinted above, these administrators seem preoccupied with self-maintenance. They quite often do engage in the election of "their" people to the board of education. Equally they systematically seek to avoid controversy and conflict. Subsequently, as an illustration of the consequences of such preoccupation, many districts have no established attendance boundaries thus permitting parents to send their children to the school of their choice. The point could have been illustrated equally well by pointing out that this self-maintenance drive often results in such things as buildings being erected for political reasons, on sites completely isolated from the main body of students to be served.

A final characteristic of the administrative operations of the school is related to the administrator's emphasis upon his management function at the expense of his other functions. Many principals personally operate school stores, plan lunchroom menus and even purchase food. Many have been required to do this from economic necessity, for many even have to purchase their own supplies, coal, lights and telephone from funds raised by the school rather than furnished by the board of education.

5. Instructional Programs. The typical instructional program in these schools seems more irrelevant to the students served than those in many other sections of the country. Little attention or effort seems made to fit these programs to the social, economic or cultural needs of the students. As pointed out earlier, the instructional program has often been that of teachers and textbooks with only the teacher deciding what to teach and when.

Some school administrators with some embarrassment admit that their instructional program is left to chance with only the state approved textbooks and course requirements serving as safeguards to insure that students are studying "what they should."

To summarize what has been set forth to this point, it seems that:

1. Appalachia is a unique social system.
2. People in Appalachia have different orientations than those in outside regions.
3. Schools are natural products of and contributors to the social system of which they are integral parts.
4. Schools in Appalachia are consistent with the entire social system. They, like their society, have been "closed." They have been maintained as institutions but have not made the full contribution of which they are capable.
5. Those who have operated these schools are products of this society and in this respect have done the best they were capable of doing under existing conditions.

It should be pointed up strongly that not all school districts nor professional personnel conform to the above analysis. However, the development of public education in the region and the conditions controlling it as a social sub-system have made the description generally appropriate and leads to the conclusion that most school systems in the region might be referred to as "closed". Therefore, it follows that the schools are both producers of and contributors to the social equilibrium of Appalachia. Or said differently, the schools seem to represent a classical study of social consistency.

THE SCHOOLS

(The Changing Scene)

To many observers, the schools in Appalachia have undergone more change in the past ten years than in the preceding fifty. Each of us is well aware of the impact federal legislation has had on the total social-economic structure of this nation. Social change has been far greater than most scholars ever thought possible in such a brief period. Surely the schools (as a sub-system within our larger social system) have not escaped. Today, all of American public education is undergoing drastic and dramatic change. Obviously there are those who argue that some schools are pursuing change blindly—for the sake of change. Others argue that the change process is too slow; that educational change is dropping farther and farther behind changes in other sectors of our society. Regardless of the issues being debated, the fact remains that federal legislation is resulting in alterations within our educational systems and that Appalachia has not been isolated or insulated from this external stimuli.

Of the many legislative enactments, let us use P.L. 89–10 for illustrative purposes. This Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 specifically and purposefully intervened in the operation of the public schools. Initially it provided funds for the special educational requirements of the disadvantaged under its Title I. The Act's Title II made possible the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks and other instructional materials. Title III allocated funds specifically to stimulate and facilitate innovative and exemplary programs and to establish supplementary service centers. Title IV made possible the establishment of a series of Educational Laboratories—one of which, the Appalachian Educational Laboratory, was initially charged with devising and introducing new answers to the educational needs of six Appalachian states. The Act's Title V provided funds for the upgrading of personnel and services of State Departments of Education.

The advent of this piece of legislation served as a stimulus, external to local school systems, and obviously presented considerable challenge to the status quo equilibrium of each state's educational system. Colleges, universities, State Departments of Education and particularly local public schools all felt the impact of the power of this act. Initially the allocation of funds was not automatic. School districts had to follow established procedures requiring that all applications be based on an analysis of needs, that a proposed program be logically planned for the reduction of those needs, that operation procedures clearly indicate their appropriateness to the proposed program and that procedures for evaluating the consequence be established.

For the first time, many schools were asked to plan—to develop a program predicted to achieve specified goals—to determine the extent to which these goals were achieved. Such a procedure was totally foreign to many schools and many educators in Appalachia. Such a procedure was not typically followed in these systems which were operated more informally than formally and more traditionally than innovatively. Subsequently, the balance—the status quo was teetered and tottered.

Accommodations of this external intervention were achieved in a variety of ways in different local school districts. Most districts felt compelled to take advantage of the funds made available and to move rapidly in order to benefit during the first year of operation of P.L. 89–10, and have been involved with it and subsequent congressional acts ever since. The typical method of adjustment to meet these external requirements has been the creation of a somewhat separate school program—one that can be surgically removed if federal funds are curtailed. This type of adjustment temporarily permitted the local district to operate its basic program much as it did prior to the act. However, the involvement of school personnel in the planning—implementing—evaluating processes has and will continue to affect the status quo somewhat and could give impetus to more basic and lasting changes.

At this point in history, as a result of such externally induced forces for change, the entire Appalachian region appears to be:

1. Suffering from a Shortage of Specialized Personnel. The suddenness of the initiation of federally-funded programs for public schools drained the professional manpower pool throughout Appalachia. Many such programs required personnel with professional credentials in specialized areas (remedial reading, for example). Unfortunately, traditional employment practices resulted in the transfer of some and employment of other "locals" without such preparation rather than the recruitment of "outsiders" who possessed the special competencies demanded by such a program. To illustrate, most school districts immediately initiated remedial reading programs. To staff these, the "best" first and second grade teachers were frequently transferred to the federally-funded program. It was not uncommon for these teachers to be replaced by persons less qualified and able than they. In some instances, replacements were persons who would never have been employed under normal circumstances. Thus "untrained" persons were staffing remedial reading programs and their replacements were frequently of such low calibre that the continuing need

for a remedial program was insured. In one instance familiar to this author, there were more third grade students in need of remedial assistance after the third year of operation of the remedial reading program than there had been before the program was started.

Thus implementation of ESEA and other such programs not only drained the manpower pool but also resulted in the placement of available local personnel in positions for which they had little or no specialized training. Today many of these professionals have acquired additional training, but the fact remains that most of the newly created positions were filled by the traditional employment of "our own people." Fortunately, today, this practice is subsiding somewhat and with increasing frequency "outsiders" with special competencies are being recruited and employed. If this continues, hopefully these people will demonstrate the necessity of specialized competencies for all persons filling those positions requiring such specialization. Until then, many schools and students will continue to be served by specialized programs staffed by nonspecialists. Thus, Appalachian schools have suffered from a lack of personnel with specialities in the areas needed to operate effective instructional programs. But, it should be pointed out again that the tide is shifting and that in the process several of the traditional ways of doing things are being challenged. Hopefully this new tide will result in an increasing number of persons with specialized professional competencies to serve students within this region.

2. Breaking Down of Provincialism. Among the many significant changes one can observe in Appalachian schools since the advent of E.S.E.A., P.L. 89–10 in 1965 is the erosion of some of the provincialism which has characterized the region for so long. Availability of federal funds and engagement in new programs have necessitated increased communication within school districts, between and among districts and between districts and state and federal agencies. The need for information about programs, program revisions, application guidelines, program reports, etc. along with a frequently difficult schedule have resulted in local patterns of conversations among professionals shifting with considerable frequency from noneducational to educational topics.

A second chink in the traditional provincialistic orientation of many school districts is that competition for funds is resulting in new programs being initiated within some school districts. These districts are becoming increasingly proud of what they are able to do. Some are being recognized for their innovativeness and for the effectiveness of their programs. Consequently, many districts—and their communities—are finding the challenge of creating new programs stimulating and rewarding. They enjoy the recognition received from persons and agencies both in and outside their districts.

A third factor related to a reduction of local provincialism has been the availability of resources to visit other schools and to attend various professional meetings. This practice of meeting and working with people from other districts in Kentucky as well as other states has had a significant influence on many local school administrators and teachers. Visitation to other schools has exposed personnel to different approaches to teaching and programming. In fact, visitation has been so effective that the Appalachian Regional Commission is currently helping to finance a program for the Kentucky River Educational Cooperative so that teachers from eight school districts can spend up to five days observing and working with teachers at the highly innovative LBJ School in Breathitt County, Kentucky. As exposure to new or different educational practices continues, surely the walls of provincialism will continue to deteriorate.

A third factor in this area can be illustrated again by Kentucky. Title III of the original P.L. 89–10 was designed for innovation and demonstration projects, and supplementary centers were used for nine years as a means to multi-county or regional programs. For example, the Supplementary Educational Center at Somerset, Kentucky, served some sixteen school districts. Eight such centers served all of the districts in Kentucky. These eight centers were tied together in a statewide Kentucky Innovation Development Center which has as one of its primary functions the stimulation and coordination of innovational practices through consultative services, research, training and dissemination. Local school boards and administrators in Kentucky began to look beyond their own boundaries to these agencies operating at a regional level. This movement undoubtedly resulted in increased stimulation of progress and greatly reduced the traditional concept of provincialism.

3. Fragmenting Their Efforts. Prior discussions of shortage of specialists and a reduction in provincialism allude to the reality that many schools are engaged in such a wide range of activities that both their efforts and the subsequent results are being fragmented. As stated earlier, there is an uncertainty of continued funding of federal programs along with the proliferation of both federal and state programs. In the typical school district there has been neither the time nor manpower to "fit" all of these into an integral, meaningful whole. Little effort has been made to focus these on the unique educational problems and needs resulting from the "closedness" of the unique Appalachian social system.

This is not to imply that extra-murally funded projects should have been a part of a rigid overall master design. Rather its intent is only to point up a need for integration and coordination of all programs within a school district rather than "tacking" new programs onto or "patching" them into a school district's on-going instructional program. To illustrate, the primary responsibility of every school district is being directed toward those programs that will continue if and when special project or program funds are withdrawn. Districts have had and currently have limited personnel, time or energy to devote to much other than this immediate responsibility. Therefore, those federally-funded programs, which have in some instances done much for education in Appalachia, have in other ways been composed of an aggregate of disconnected and unrelated pieces. Fortunately, there is a growing recognition of the need for coordination within districts, between districts and state and federal agencies as well as between state and federal agencies themselves. With the erosion of the provincial nature of Appalachian districts, the acquisition of new personnel with special competencies and other phenomena, there are increasing signs of actions to coordinate these previous fragments into meaningful wholes.

4. Working With Inadequate Design and Data. As earlier indicated, systematic data collection and utilization has been practically non-existent in Appalachia. In terms of past operations, the need for such data was of less import than other matters. School personnel have seen little need for research training in their preparatory programs. Typically, when school programs have moved, they have done so on the basis of personal hunches, interest of those involved or on the basis of hearsay reports of other programs. Little systematic program improvement or evaluation has existed. Consequently, today there is something of a shortage of personnel who can conceptualize an idea, translate it to an operational plan, implement it and evaluate its consequences. This shortage is reflected in many of the proposals originally submitted under Titles I, II and III and appears as a symbolic consequence of Appalachia's closed school system.

It is also apparent that local school systems and State Departments all share the need for more adequate data both for planning and for determining the consequences of activities now underway. There then continues to exist a need for some assistance in the design of projects and in their evaluation. Equally, there is need for some agency to secure data within a state so that such data could be used by both intermediate and local systems.

In light of the above conditions which seem to be operative within the schools, the states and the entire Appalachian region, three basic points seem to be warranted.

1. Schools are improving. Beyond all doubt, the opportunity for a quality education for all of the children of all the people is greater to-

day than ever before in Appalachia. True, such an opportunity is less adequate in this region than in some other sections of the country. However, conditions today are quite unlike those of ten years ago. The status quo—the closed school system is being opened and hopefully it will continue to open as new personnel, new ideas and new expectations are introduced.

2. The process of educational change is but little different from the process of any social change. While the public school is dependent for its existence upon the support of the larger society, today's larger society is not that of "yesterday". No longer is the superintendent of a local school district entirely dependent upon local resources for his operation of schools. No longer is he totally bound by local expectations relative to his performance. Rather, he is beginning to identify with and be supported by a larger society—the state and nation. As this continues to occur in Appalachia the tempo of change should increase.

3. Schools are both products of and contributors to that society which supports them. As indicated above, as the scope of this society shifts from the local community to a region or to the state, it appears that the schools will be in better position to affect the social-political structure of the local community. As this happens, it seems likely that Appalachia could begin to develop viable solutions to its own social and economic problems.

In summary, schools in Appalachia have long been so closely interwoven with and dependent upon local conditions that they have automatically reflected these conditions. To take liberty with Jack Weller's title, "Yesterday's People Produced Yesterday's Schools." However, as viewed here, the social evolution in this country has caught "yesterday's people" (particularly the schools) in a movement which is making inroads into their isolation. The excitement and the enthusiasm of school people reflect this movement. The task is to find ways of aiding these "yesterday school people" to become "tomorrow people."

As stated in the beginning, all schools are a direct reflection of the social-political-economic structure of the society which created and maintains them. The schools of Appalachia represent a case study of social consistency. The schools as a factor in Appalachia's future cannot be overlooked or underplayed. As Appalachia changes so will the schools, but, equally, as the schools change so will Appalachia.

CONCLUSION

In closing, I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge my very deep love and respect for the many fine people who have and are devoting their lives to the education of Appalachia's young. They have labored long and hard; they have done the best they could. Unfortunately, the task, to date, has been too great for their manpower and abilities. However, each of them, like you and me, is dedicated to his task as he sees it. As one of my favorite superintendents is often inclined to say, "Someday, we should build a monument to those real professional school men who held education in Appalachia together with bailing wire."

29 EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN APPALACHIA: PROBLEMS OF RELEVANCE, STRATEGY, AND PRIORITY

STANLEY O. IKENBERRY

The problems faced by Appalachian public schools are many. A prescriptive analysis is presented here to enable these schools to meet the challenges of the future. Dr. Ikenberry is Senior Vice-President for University Development And Relations At Pennsylvania State University.

Profound changes have come about in American society during the last decade in the level of expectation for public education. These changes are also evident in contemporary Appalachia. Public education is increasingly relied upon as an instrument of social policy, with issues ranging from manpower development and economic growth to those of civil rights and poverty.[1] Furthermore, in an increasingly credential-oriented occupational marketplace, the benefits traditionally associated with education are becoming even more critical for an individual's social, economic, and cultural survival, and there is less and less room for educational failure. The era of an uneasy accommodation between an educational system which was only partly effective, and the changing manpower demands of society is drawing to a close.[2]

In an earlier day, school dropouts and even those youngsters who completed secondary school but had failed to develop adequate skills of communication and/or specialized technical or craft skills were absorbed by the job market because of the vast societal demand for unskilled and semiskilled manual labor. This is no longer the case. Indeed, the current social unrest in our nation is in many ways a prod-

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uct of the marked decline in the demand for unskilled workers. Between 1948 and 1960, for example, the number of blue collar production workers declined by nearly a half million, while nonproduction white collar workers rose by 1.5 million.[3] The 1970 census should show even larger shifts. Even the most untutored in our society now see the relationship between education, economic growth, and the quality of life in our society more clearly than ever before. The current failure on the part of the school to be effective with a significant minority of our youth population increases the likelihood of broader and more costly social failures in the future. Alienation from school may signal a larger, more complex series of problems.

Educational reforms undoudbtedly are a necessary precondition for dealing effectively with the strains and tensions generated by rapid social change. This may be especially true in Appalachia, where the development of an efficient and modern school system has lagged considerably behind the general thrust of social and economic trends in the nation. In looking toward a brighter future and in planning for educational reform in Appalachia, appropriate answers must be devised from a number of very difficult problems. The discussion which follows will be focused on three such problems which may be regarded as being of major regional as well as national significance: the problems of educational relevance, strategy, and priority.

PROBLEMS OF RELEVANCE

Although Appalachia can lay no claim to any exclusive affliction, the greatest problems faced by its educational system are those of relevance, or irrelevance as the case may be. The issue may be examined from two perspectives: irrelevance produced by inappropriate goals and irrelevance occasioned by effectiveness. The first, where the goals of education and the institutionalized mechanisms for achieving them may have little relationship to the current interests and future needs of youngsters, is perhaps the more common and more obvious difficulty.

There are certain basic educational objectives which *must* be achieved for *all* youngsters if they are to function effectively and productively in our rapidly changing society. The option of compromise is not available. If systems of education are to meet these needs of young men and women, they must do the following: (1) enable sustained personal flexibility in occupational choice and, consequently, freedom of life style; (2) enable individuals to function effectively as citizens; (3) facilitate the creation, preservation, and transmission of culture.

The goals of educational systems often become misplaced because of a lack of understanding of the implications and future requirements for flexibility in occupation choice, effective citizenship, or cultural relevance. In the year 2,000, today's first graders will be only 36 years old. Unaware of the nature of society thirty years hence, educators obviously have difficulty in building a curriculum to achieve such performance. Even when the outlines of the future and the implications seem clear, there is a failure to build a corresponding educational program because of the difficulty of the processes of institutional change and reform.

By way of illustration, one might examine the typical school program and identify those aspects which create and sustain freedom of life style and occupational choice. The tendency is to be overly critical at first. Yet, taking into account the needs of a changing society, many of the more traditional educational programs of the school, including reading and language expression, science, mathematics, and other aspects of the general education program, may be more relevant than ever before. The growth occupations of the future will require increasing competence along such lines and failure to develop these basic skills will spell broader occupational and personal failure regardless of subsequent vocational training or occupational choice.

There are *gaps in the school curriculum*, however, which must be filled if freedom in occupational choice and life style, and consequently relevance, are to be achieved. There is no aspect of the school curriculum, for example, in which the Appalachian youngster may explore the wide world of work and the range of potentially applicable occupational choices. There is no aspect of the Appalachian school program which sets forth effectively the social, economic, and educational implications of occupational choice.

It should not be unexpected that the youngster in Appalachia—or in the inner city ghetto—finds school irrelevant because of an inability to relate education to work and life style. Models of occupational alternatives are limited to those derived from personal experience either in the home or the community or through mass media such as television. The school does too little to supplement the *model* deficiencies of the youngster coming from a more restricted environment. If the youth is lucky enough to find a viable occupational model or models, he may still be unable to relate the work in his mathematics class to his interest in becoming an auto mechanic or a space technician. While the parents of the middle-class youngster may help overcome such problems, other youngsters may be less fortunate.

In this specific instance, the risk of irrelevance could be reduced if curriculum modifications were made to facilitate greater sophistication in occupational choice and to establish an awareness of the educational, social and economic implications of various career choices. Recognizing the interaction between life style and occupational choice, and the occupational adaptiveness required in the years ahead, at least a small portion of the school curriculum, especially in rural Appalachia, should be devoted to such ends.

Although there are other gaps and distorted emphases in curriculum which might be cited with reference to the charge of irrelevance, there is a second aspect of relevance which in the final analysis may be less obvious but more damaging. While the net result for the student may be the same, irrelevance due to *ineffectiveness* may be more difficult to remedy than gaps in the curriculum.

Schools of education may have contributed as much to fostering ineffectiveness as to the solution of the problem. A great deal of educational research, for example, has been directed at the problems associated with learning. The bulk of the focus has been on the differences in high and low achievers and in prediction of such achievement. The result has been elaborate explanations of educational ineffectiveness. Arthur Pearl [4] outlines popular explanations as follows:

> *Constitutional Inferiority.* There is, of course, the explanation of constitutional inferiority, in which we can suggest that failure is due to the fact the child chose the wrong parents and therefore does not have the native ability to learn like "normal" children.
>
> *Inadequate Socialization.* A second mistake the child can make is to be born in an economically, socially, or culturally disadvantaged home because he fails to receive an optimum environment for growth and development between birth and six years old, the school feels less responsible for its failure.
>
> *Cultural Alienation.* In spite of rich, bright parents, and ample native ability, we excuse failure in a third class of youngsters because of cultural alienation, or to use the more fashionable descriptive term, because they're "hung up."
>
> *Impossible System.* In conjunction with or in addition to any of the three above, we explain failure by pointing to the bad teachers the child has had earlier and the impossible conditions of the system which prohibit anything but continued failure.

While each of the above conditions provides a partial and apparently reasonable explanation for learning deficiencies, researchers, and teachers have overemphasized the obstacles rather than the solutions. The occupation structure of 45 years ago accommodated the "rejects" of such a system. In contrast, however, the economy and social structure of today's society do not have the capacity to absorb such a high proportion of educational failures. If total biological control and thereby an eradiction of Pearl's "constitutional inferiority" cannot be achieved, if total victory over poverty is not likely in the near future, if we are to allow young people to raise questions about society, and if the available teachers and the system itself must continue to be less than perfect, then the emphasis must be on overcoming these constraints. Effective mechanisms *to overcome obstacles* to maximum human development and *to achieve certain basic* educational objectives for all youngsters must be devised or society must run the continuous and accelerated risks of large-scale alienation. To be truly relevant, the school systems of Appalachia must reexamine not only the learning goals sought but the effectiveness of educational programs and thereby assume the burden of educating all the children, not just the traditional fraction.

PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

Behind and related to the problems of learning effectiveness is the question of strategy. While it is possible that greater dedication, more money, or greater effort will allow achievement of educational goals using essentially the same models as have been used in the past, it is more likely that new models and different strategies will be required. By way of illustration, four areas merit consideration.

First, increased effectiveness will certainly require greater and more sophisticated application of *individualized instructional models* adaptive to individual differences. Although several different such models have been formulated, each generally shares a number of common aims or concerns:

(1) Youngsters can progress at their own rate or pace in learning. If more time is needed to accomplish an objective, it is available; if less time is required, acceleration is possible.

(2) A great deal of emphasis is placed on an integrated *system* for learning. This usually involves a careful analysis of learning objectives, attention to sequence of learning activities, continuous evaluation of progress, and increased feedback to learner and teacher.

(3) The role of the teacher is changed drastically, since he works more with individuals and small groups of youngsters in a diagnostic capacity. The teacher functions less as a purveyor of information and more as a manager of learning activities.

(4) Evaluation of learning outcomes is much more rigorous and continuous, with diagnosis and assessment of learning on a weekly, daily, and, in certain computer oriented systems, on a continuous basis. The learning system is designed to insure student achievement at specified criterion performance levels.

For example, in "Project Plan" at Parkersburg, West Virginia, each youngster lays out his own schedule or proposal for the day's learning. His teacher reviews, helps to modify, and eventually approves the plan. The instructional program is divided into Teaching-Learning Units (TLU's), with each unit of instruction available in various learning styles. In cooperation with the teacher, the youngster may choose the TLU he wishes to work with and may select the learning style he prefers. On his own, he will pull reference books from the shelf, and operate the equipment such as a tape recorder, a film strip, a record, or a single concept film, which is coordinated with the text or programmed material. The student may spend all day if he wishes on mathematics or any other subject, or he may spend only 15 minutes on a particular subject. His achievement and progress are tested as he moves from step to step in the TLU, and his information is fed into computers at the close of each day. A computer-assisted diagnosis of learning difficulties is available for each of the 30 fifth grade youngsters to help in planning the next day's work.

As a learning system, Project Plan has a tremendous capacity to adapt to individual differences among youngsters and to overcome the obstacles of heredity, environment, alienation and previously inadequate teaching. Its adaptability to individual needs of learners is in sharp contrast to the traditional lockstep approach in which a single teacher attempts to work with thirty youngsters as a total group; the latter method allows very little room for variation in learning rates or styles, and little time for individual attention and diagnosis of learning difficulties.

If our society can no longer tolerate a system which may do a satisfactory job for the average student but ignores the needs of youngsters on both extremes, more individualized instructional systems must be developed and implemented.

A *second* point of focus in strategy should be on *increased differentiation of the roles played by teachers and other educational personnel.* If the size of the educational slag heap is to be reduced and different learning systems developed, different kinds of teacher roles will be required. Education, caught by the efficiency of the assembly line model, has evolved a personnel system which treats teachers as interchangeable parts. With greater resources available for educational investment and with more pressing demands for effectiveness, there has been a parallel emergence of the concept of differentiated teacher roles. Paraprofessional teacher aids, beginning teachers, senior teachers, interns, subject specialists, educational technologists, curriculum design specialists, evaluators, and others are finding entry in the schools.

Such a trend must take place if new models for teaching and learning are to get beyond the talking stage.

The by-products or side benefits of differentiated teaching roles are significant. First, greater flexibility in the roles of educational personnel should bring about greater flexibility and adaptability in the educational program. Moreover, differential performance will enable teacher pay to be based on differential performance rather than simply on the number of years of experience and hours of graduate credit. The influence of the experienced and effective teacher can be multiplied, while the opportunity for the housewife who wishes to move in and out of teaching as her family commitments permit is also preserved. Differentiated teaching roles should make it less necessary for a male to move into administration to secure a higher salary. If the school is to aim for full effectiveness, and it must, the model of the self-contained classroom and the isolated teacher is past—whether in the mountain communities of Appalachia or in the more thickly populated urban centers of the nation.

A *third* area of concern is the stategy followed with respect to *early childhood education.* Recent attention to the education of young children has come about as a result of evidence which suggests that the long-term effect of extreme environments may influence measured intelligence of young children by 1.25 standard deviations, or approximately 20 points.[5] That is, two chlidren of assumed equal initial intellectual capacity, one placed in a deprived environment and the other placed in an abundant environment, might be expected to differ in subsequently measured intelligence by as much as 20 points. Arthur Jensen has raised several serious questions with respect to such conclusions,[6] but the concern for some means of early intervention in the development cycle persists. Beyond the quantitative difference in intelligence, equally important differences in attitudes, values, and self-concept are known to be influenced by the home and community environment.

Thus, special efforts have been designed during the past few years to supplement or to enrich the environment of disadvantaged youngsters, and, thereby, to reduce the negative effects on development which are evident in the first grade and increasingly thereafter. Headstart, which represents one such attempt nationally, has failed to measure up to the magnitude of the need.

The question of strategy is important in early childhood education, not only for reasons of educational effectiveness, but for cost and efficiency concerns as well. With a shortage of qualified kindergarten teachers, with a lack of properly located classroom space, and with insufficient money to implement the conventional program for three and four and five-year-old children, a new strategy or model for early childhood education would appear desirable. The Appalachia Educational Laboratory has developed the basis for an alternative strategy for delivery of early childhood education. The laboratory has field tested a model which combines technology and educational mobility to bring early childhood education to the home. The outlines of the program are as follows:

> *Small Neighborhood Groups* of ten or so youngsters meet on a regular basis once a week in a mobile classroom under the direction of a trained teacher and a paraprofessional teacher aide.
>
> *Television Programs* of 30 minute duration daily are available to the youngsters in the home and provide a major teaching resource.
>
> *Home Visitors* visit the home once each week to talk with parents, check on the child's progress and deliver educational materials. They help integrate the activities carried on in the home with the weekly mobile classroom sessions and the preparation of the television series.

It is too early to endorse such a model or to document its effectiveness. The rough outline of the laboratory program is cited only to suggest that it will be essential for the public and the profession to be more creative in the exploration of new models and new strategies in the delivery of essential educational services.

The question of alternative educational strategies, of course, should be raised initially in the teacher training institutions. New strategies for elementary and secondary education will eventually require colleges to break out of the straight jacket so characteristic of higher education in general and of teacher education programs in particular.

Despite efforts to the contrary, teachers tend to teach as they were taught. If teachers have experienced a lockstep approach to learning throughout their own educational careers, it should not be a suprise to note these same tendencies in their classrooms. If teachers have not seen any evidence of individualized instruction or have not had any successful experience in learning through the application of the new technologies of instruction such as programmed learning or television, we should not be surprised when their teaching also reflects these qualities.

More than any other sector of the college or university curriculum, teacher education programs need to search for more efficient and effective approaches, and to demonstrate the innovative and adaptive character of effective instruction.

PROBLEMS OF PRIORITY

We have considered the problems of educational relevancy and strategy, and without doubt these issues are extremely important. However, the ultimate and perhaps crucial problems, especially in Appalachia, may be those of priority. Clearly, an essential prerequisite to *having* is wanting. Just as in the private sector, demand for a product or service must accompany its availability. Before we can have a better road system, a more effective public welfare program, or better educational facilities, we must have a corresponding system of priorities. The Appalachian Region can have a first rate system of educational opportunity *only if* the people of Appalachia establish the priority and demand the product.

The extent of commitment to education in West Virginia might be examined as an example of the broader problem. In 1960–61, the educational expenditure in the United States was $390 per pupil.[7] In 1966–67, it stood at $564, an increase of 45 percent over the six year period. In those same six years, West Virginia increased from an investment of $225 per pupil in 1960–61 to $411 per youngster in 1966–67, an increase of 61 percent.

When it began in 1960–61, West Virginia ranked 43rd among the states in per pupil expenditure. By 1966–67, with a 61 percent increase in effort, the rank remained 43rd. In 1960–61, West Virginia lagged $135 per pupil behind the national average; in 1966–67, it lagged in investment by $153 per youngster.

A football coach who declared that his goal was to equal the national average in the percentage of games won and lost would soon find out from the public that his aspirations were not high enough. For West Virginia and other Appalachian states to hope to provide educational opportunity *equal* to the national average is not enough; but from what we know of the consequences, to do less is intolerable.

What are the results of this inadequate educational investment? The toll may be seen in three ways. First, it results in inadequate instructional supporting systems and services such as guidance counselors, curriculum development specialists, planners, supervisors, evaluators, teacher aids, clerical assistance, and other essentials that help to bolster the teaching program's overall effectiveness.

Second, because of the failure to invest more heavily in the education of Appalachian youngsters, schools have gross deficiencies in equipment, materials, supplies and facilities which serve to retard learning and deprive children of the best in educational opportunity.

Third, the result of inadequate investment in education forces a gradual, long term erosion of the quality of the teaching force due to the noncompetitiveness of teacher salaries. Some of the facts may be startling. As recently as 1960–61, the average teacher salary in West Virginia, for example, was $3,980, or $1,225 below the national average. It ranked 44th among the states.

By 1965–1967, the average teacher salary in West Virginia had increased to $5,450, but was $1,371 below the national average, and its rank was still 44th. Nearly every border state was able to drain off West Virginia teachers in 1960–1961, and each continues to be able to do so today. By driving a few miles or relocating in Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, West Virginia teachers might easily expect in excess of a $1,000 salary advantage. A comparable problem exists in eastern Kentucky and other areas of rural Appalachia.

One can rightfully ask the implications of such an imbalance. The erosion of teaching resources in Appalachia is much like the erosion of its natural resources—as, for example, the slashing of our forests in the past and the strip-mining operations at present. It is silent and hardly noticeable from year to year. The plight becomes recognizable as serious and immediate, however, only when we note the growing proportion of teachers, supervisors, and administrators nearing retirement age, the failure to attract the best of our newly trained teachers to serve in the region, and the poor performance of our youngsters on various criteria of educational and personal development.

More money is part of the answer, of course. Appalachia must find a way to catch up and keep up, and this will not be easy. It has been estimated, for example, that West Virginia must have $60,000,000 in *additional* support for education to begin to *catch up*.[8] To attempt to keep up, continued yearly investments of some 15 to 20 million additional dollars each year on a regular basis are essential. It is tempting to engage in self deception by attempting to improve by spreading the 60 million over a three-year period at the rate of 20 million a year. But as has been demonstrated in the past, the world won't stand still for the state and region to catch up.

Educational priorities come from value judgments. Citizens must make choices about the differential allocation of scarce resources to various services provided by government, such as highways, social welfare, police protection, recreation, and so forth. Indeed, the problems of education ultimately boil down to the question of whether the people of the various states, region, and nation want improvements in educational services badly enough to pay for them, even at the price of a second car, a color television set, or a two-week vacation in Florida, any one of which costs nearly as much or more than the current yearly investment per student in education.

CONCLUSION

We live in a society in transition, and the southern Appalachian region is no exception. Appalachian people neither want nor could they attain an isolation from the realities and pressures of modernization which surround them. With increased mobility, improved communications, and a shifting job structure, the region is caught up in a national and international system which is generating tremendous changes in the region's economy, politics, and among other aspects of life, education.

The shift toward increasing reliance on public education as an instrument of social policy will not likely be reversed, for it is through improved educational systems that the less advantaged in our society have found the promise of upward mobility and the capacity to fulfill the demands and expectations of society. It was on a recognition of this fact that the so-called American system of *public education for all* was shaped during the first half of the twentieth century. And it is the full realization and acceptance of this burden during the second half of the century that will enable our society and the Appalachian region to meet the challenges which we face.

NOTES

1. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965).
2. See Grant Venn, *Education and Work, Post Secondary Vocational and Technical Education* (Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1964).
3. Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training by the U.S. Department of Labor, March, 1963 (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1963).
4. Arthur Pearl, "A Critical Look at Teacher Training," A Rough Draft of a paper for the Institute for Advanced Study for the Teaching of the Disadvantaged, University of Oregon, Corvallis, November, 1966.
5. Benjamin S. Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics* (New York, John Wiley and Sons).
6. See Arthur Jensen, "Social Class, Race and Genetics: Implications for Education," *American Educational Research Journal*, 5, January, 1968, 1-42. Also, see Jensen article in *Harvard Educational Review*, 37, No. 1, 1969.
7. Statistics which follow were drawn from figures developed by the National Education Association's research report: *Ranking of the States*, 1967–68. Figures have changed since the initial writing. For example, the average teacher salary was increased over $1,000 effective in the 1969 school year. But the general competitive position remains essentially the same.
8. This estimate is based on the difference between per pupil expenditures and national averages.

30 THE FOXFIRE CONCEPT

ELIOT WIGGINTON

Eliot Wigginton has achieved international notoriety for conceiving and directing the student publication FOXFIRE at the school where he teaches in Rabun Gap, Georgia. His selection looks in depth at the value of this kind of learning experience and the prescriptive nature of the concept.

In August of 1966, MA in T from Cornell in hand, I began teaching ninth- and tenth-grade English in a 250-pupil high school in the Appalachian Mountains of northeast Georgia. The Appalachians were not unfamiliar territory to me or my family. I was born in West Virginia (one set of grandparents owned the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company outside Wheeling), and after our family moved to Georgia, where my father took a job as a professor at the University of Georgia, we still spent every summer in West Virginia. (That is to say nothing of the large portions of my young life spent in the very county in northeast Georgia where I began my teaching career.)

But despite that familiarity with the region, I soon found as a young teacher that I knew almost nothing about the region at all. It is now 1977, and I am still teaching at that same tiny high school, and I am still about the business of trying to find out what this region is all about, even as I shape and rework an educational philosophy that is constantly being altered by what I discover on a day-to-day basis about myself and my kids and my chosen home.

One part of the philosophy, however, remains inviolate, and that is the conviction that students can do—and must be allowed to do—far more than has been traditionally expected of them in our schools. One of the projects that my students and I began in those first English classes is a magazine called *Foxfire* that still continues today. It has been written about in virtually every publication around, and it is generally acknowledged by educators to be the most visibly successful high school endeavor in this country; and, as such, it has been emulated by hundreds of other high schools coast to coast. In fact, as I write this, one of my tenth grade students (a young man who had never been on a plane before or out of his region until now) and I are on a Delta jet somewhere between Kansas City and Atlanta, returning from a four-day workshop we ran in Portland for thirty Oregon high school teachers, and a speech we made together on the way home to the annual American Association for the Advancement of Science convention in Denver. In a few hours, we will be meeting Herb Kohl in Atlanta and taking him along with us back home to Rabun Gap, where he's going to spend three days with the kids in an attempt to find out what's going on that's causing all the commotion. If you don't know who Herb is, by the way, you got robbed by the college that gave you your teaching degree. They may not have introduced you to Jonathan Kozol or Robert Coles or Jim Herndon or any of those folks either, and so you've some catching up to to do if you want to consider yourself a reasonably well-informed, conscientious educator. And I assume you do or you probably wouldn't be reading *this* book.

At any rate, what this preamble has been leading up to is two short points:

1. Despite the fact that the Foxfire idea has now spread all over the country, it is nevertheless useful to remember that it is a concept that was developed in Appalachia by and specifically for people of Appalachian roots in a tiny, extremely traditional and conservative high school that could provide not one penny of financial support.
2. The success of the project is a convincing demonstration by anyone's definition of the tremendous potential that a single teacher has for effecting change. And you must remember that. You and your students together have far more power than you have perhaps imagined; and to believe otherwise is only to provide yourself with a convenient excuse for not doing more to affect the lives of your students and your community.

This is a good point at which to stop reading if you've decided that this article is not going to be for you. For the rest of you, well, roll up your sleeves and dig in. Here's where this article starts.

First, some background. In 1966, I faced 135 kids in six classes who, for the most part, obviously weren't impressed by the way I was teaching English. Discipline was a very real day-to-day problem, and the reading and writing levels of many of my students demanded a radically different approach. The situation finally got so bad that one day I closed the text, told them to do the same, sat down crosslegged on top of the desk and said, "Okay, I give up. You know this isn't working and I know this isn't working. Now what are we going to do to make it through the rest of this year?"

Several days of discussion followed during which time, in the evenings, I also reflected on my own high school days and tried to remember classroom activities that had impressed me, or moments when teachers had literally affected my life. There weren't many, but there were some. One happened when, as a tenth grade student—and a pretty poor one at that having flunked a couple of courses and so forth—an English teacher read a composition I had written for him, liked it, and took a few moments of his time to get it published in our high school literary magazine. When the piece appeared, with all the words I had had in it originally still there, and my name spelled correctly at the end, I was jolted in a way I had seldom been jolted before. Copies of the magazine went to my parents ("See, I'm not quite as worthless a student as you've been led to believe up until now"); my grades improved to the point where I graduated near the top of my class, and I turned an important corner in my life. It had been proved to me in terms I could understand that I had worth and capability. I could *do*.

Remembering how English finally came alive for me as a direct result of that experience, and how I finally realized that writing does, in fact, have some direct applicability to the outside world and perhaps to my life, I suggested to my students that we start a magazine. They shrugged, throught that sounded as good as anything else I had suggested so far (the school had never had a publication before so they had no idea what was involved, but anything was better than what we *had* been doing), and our principal agreed as long as the school would have no financial responsibility. I proposed it to him as a six-week unit in magazine production so that the students could see one way that writing is actually used, and I promised him that all the language arts skills I was being paid by the State to teach would be rigorously observed (how much easier it is to get students to deal with grammatical problems when they know their work is going to be seen by hundreds of people), and that nothing would appear in the magazine that would be slanderous or offensive (from the beginning, articles written about people in the community were read first by those people, corrected, and then formally released for publication).

The students fanned out into the tiny community requesting donations from every individual and business they could find, promising the donors that when the magazine appeared, each would receive a free copy, his name would be listed in the back in a donor's section, and the inside front cover would be personally autographed to him by the students who put the magazine together. In this way, they raised nearly $450. That money was taken to the local printer with instructions to print as many copies of the magazine as he could for that sum when we delivered the camera-ready pages to him.

Meanwhile, students were also shaping the contents. Classroom exercises resulted in poems, short stories, essays, art work and some photographs, the best of which were selected and put aside. At the same time, I was asking each student to do such things as take a mimeographed list of common ailments (asthma, colds, pneumonia, etc.) home and bring back lists of traditional home cures for these ailments. I was also meeting small groups of students after school and taking them on short interviews, using a second-hand reel-to-reel tape recorder I owned, and a 35mm camera my uncle had picked up overseas during World War II. The first tape we made had Luther Rickman, the local, retired sheriff whose grandson was in one of my classes, telling about the time our county's bank was robbed in 1936. Transcribed, that interview went into the magazine almost word for word—an unbroken monologue recounting an experience that was one of the highlights of Sheriff Rickman's career (he captured Zade Sprinkle, the leader of the outlaw band, and brought him to trial).

When the 600 copies of our magazine appeared, that could easily have been the conclusion to our experiment. The magazines were all paid for. They could have been given away (in fact, this is a technique that many high schools are using now, produce one free booklet per year thus avoiding the hassles of subscriptions and deadlines); my classes could have taken on a completely different six-week unit, and that, as they say, would have been that.

But the response to that little magazine from the community and from the kids was so warm that, with the principal's permission, we decided to offer subscriptions. The subscription money that came in paid for the next issue, and now, eleven years and forty-three magazines and five *Foxfire* books later, the project is stronger than ever. And it is stronger not because it remained the same, but because it has constantly evolved—each year being altered or added to in some way in an attempt to meet more successfully the needs of the high school students and the community we work with. Knowing that the magazine itself was not enough to engage the energies of all my students, I directed the royalties from the sale of the *Foxfire* books back into the project using them over the years to:

—hire an additional seven-members staff, each of whom has organized a new division of our project and each of which has become a cluster of elective courses within our public high school. Half of those staff members are former Foxfire students who went on to college like the University of Virginia and got their degrees with the hope of some day being able to come back to their home county to work.

—purchase 110 acres of land; then purchase twenty-five 100-year-old log buildings which, with community carpenters and masons and students we disassembled, could be moved to that land, and then reconstructed and rennovated to form an educational complex that is a supplement to the existing school system, open to community people and our students, but closed to tourists.

—begin a videotape operation that now broadcasts weekly hour-long programs—scripted, filmed and edited by kids—over the locally-owned cable TV network.

—begin a record company from which come student-produced albums of both traditional music and the work of local songwriters. The students not only do the recording and editing, but also design the albums and handle their distribution.

—begin a publishing company through which we publish a series of books of local and regional interest (such as the recently published *Memories of a Mountain Shortline*, an oral history of the local, now defunct, Tallulah Falls Railroad complete with photographs and diagrams put together by two eleventh-grade girls).

—begin a furniture business that produces fine reproductions of traditional pieces—by students—with the goal of nurturing it into a full-fledged industry in the community that will provide additional jobs (as will the above businesses) for high school graduates who want to remain here.

—begin an environmental division that not only teaches kids, through extensive field work, a respect for their own unique environment, but also engages them actively in research concerning the effects on their environment of such practices as extensive second-home development, highway construction, clearcutting and tourism.

—begin an Appalachian studies department in the high school that for the first time focuses on their own culture and heritage as mountain people, at the same time showing them parallels between our culture and others.

—begin an elementary school division that places high school students in the elementary schools in the county as teacher aides with responsibility for helping their students design and build playgrounds out of native materials, create their own learning materials (such as readers) and complete a textbook about the history of our county written by elementary school student *for* elementary school students, and published by our own firm and distributed free to the schools of the area.

—begin a course for seniors to teach them how to begin and run businesses of their own. By *actually creating* some of these businesses (furniture, for example) they create jobs for themselves as high school graduates.

The reason for mentioning all this is not to snatch the opportunity to blow *Foxfire*'s horn, but to give others some idea of the tremendous range of activities that can be carried out *successfully* by high school students. There are hundreds more, the only limitation being, essentially, the extent of individual imagination.

That brings me to the core of this article. Nearly twelve years of wrestling in Appalachian classrooms with this thing called education has convinced me of four truths. These form the basis of my own theory of education, and they come not from supposition, but from direct observation—from watching education at work, from seeing sacred cows exploded, from experimentation and tinkering with formulae. They are as follows:

1. Many of the things we, as teachers, assume students cannot do are, in fact, things they are perfectly capable of doing, and will do if given good enough reasons (reasons other than, "If you don't do this, you will fail my courses").

I have actually heard teachers from the outside say, for example, that their Appalachian students are incapable of the memorization of large amounts of material, ignoring all the while the mass of evidence that proves them wrong: the fact, for example, that many of their students have already committed to memory a CB language so complex that most of those same teachers wouldn't know much of what their students were saying if they heard them using it; or the fact that one of the favorite games of those same students when on trips is to be the first to call out correctly the make and model numbers of all the large trucks on the road before they are in plain view—GMC, International, Kenworth, Ford, Chevy, White, Peterbilt, Mack—along with all sorts of technical data thrown in on the side just for good measure and added entertainment value; or the fact that the "dumbest" boy in their class probably already has memorized more technical data about guns and automobiles and the habits and habitat of native trout than his teacher will ever know. Whether the information is entirely accurate or not is beside the point. The fact is that a large body of material has been internalized in the age-old ritual of remembering what is relevant for one's life and rejecting the rest.

Similarly, I have heard teachers say that their students cannot write creatively. If that is, in fact, true, then someone is going to have to explain to me why they are able to make up—and memorize—lengthy songs about their school and their teachers, songs which sometimes skewer those teachers so accurately and peg their personality quirks so precisely as to leave no question of who they are talking about if all names are removed; or why it is true that Barbara Taylor, as a senior in our school and an editor for *Foxfire* came within two points of failing senior English, and yet that same year she wrote a long article about *Foxfire* which she sold to Seventeen for $400.00; or why students like Varney Watson, at the same time he is failing English tests, is also writing the music and words for songs so beautiful that twelve of them make up *Foxfire's* second record album (Varney has already performed most of them in public at such events as the Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C.).

Similarly, I have heard teachers say, in those terrible rooms called teachers' lounges, that a certain student cannot follow directions from a book and then I have watched that same student, using a manufacturer's manual, tear down an automobile and put it back together again—a feat few teachers in our school could duplicate.

I could go on in this same vein for pages. In most cases, the ability is there. It just isn't being tapped. And the sodden reasons we give students for doing the work we assign are greeted with a skepticism that is all too often absolutely justifiable. We have forgotten, in many of our schools, that students *can* do, and instead of celebrating that fact and building on it and adding to and polishing and extending skills that already exist, we substitute the belief that there is a tremendous amount that students *cannot* do, and therefore they must be educated. . . .

2. We, as adults, know for a fact that we are the sum total of our past experiences. These experiences have determined almost completely not only the way we feel about ourselves, and what we know about ourselves, but also our attitudes about the world around us, our perceptions of what tasks need to be done to make this world more habitable; and whether we will be the ones to accomplish these tasks or will be the ones content to sit on the sidelines sniping at or rooting for or ignoring those who try. Confident or timid, self-assured or insecure, positive or negative, optimistic or cynical—these attitudes are the results of our testing ourselves against the world and drawing conclusions about ourselves and our abilities from those experiences. Many of these attitudes are formed when we are young. I am still insecure about the game of basketball, for example, and avoid faculty/student games like the plague because, as an awkward youngster, I was always the last boy chosen for a team, was only rarely given the ball, and never learned how to dribble or shoot. On the rare occasions when I did get a chance to shoot, I always missed—an error which was exactly expected of me and which simply served to perpetuate the cycle and the series of assumptions that were being made by others (and consequently by myself, others being the only yardstick I had by which to measure myself) about my ability. I cannot play that game to this day. Math is torture for basically the same reason. Fail a few tests, misunderstand a few assignments, get criticized a few times and the dye is cast. It doesn't take any kid long to find out which parts of a stove burn.

Other experiences went better for me, luckily. I remember being entranced one day when, in elementary school, a white-haired gentleman who used to be a high school principal brought in some of the pieces from his Indian artifact collection and talked to us about them. Later, I was astounded to find that my family knew this man, and that he and my grandmother actually hunted for arrowheads together from time to time. I wangled an invitation, found a couple of points that were exclaimed over, and almost became an archaeologist in college. To this day I love that field, and I intend soon to add a professional archaeologist to our staff to do digs with our students.

Similarly, I know I am a more observant person because, when I was young, my father, who is a landscape architect, used to take me along when he went sketching. I had my sketchbook, and he had his, and together we sketched and studied details of trees, houses, landscapes. He criticized my work, but always positively and with love, and I still sketch to this day, and encourage my students to do the same.

Because my father helped me build a doghouse for my dog, and assorted furniture for my bedroom, and taught me how to use tools in the process, I had enough self-confidence to build the house in which I now live. And I never fail to be astounded, when I sit alone in that two-story house with its thirty-foot-high stone fireplace, by the fact that I ever attempted it at all. Why did I? Because I knew, from past experiences, that I could pull it off.

The interesting thing about these experiences (called "peak experiences" in the jargon of the trade) is that despite the fact we *know* their importance (one has only to go painstakingly over his own life to have that truth come rushing in) we only rarely, as teachers, make them happen in the context of schools. We hand out plenty of defeats and precious few victories—precious few experiences *at all*—beyond those texts we have allowed to totally dominate the lives of our students.

Now that fact strikes me as being not only tragic, but immoral. The young men and women in our charge will cling desperately to their triumphs and turn their backs on their defeats. And who can blame the student who, finding success and acceptance and a sense of accomplishment *only* in drinking beer late at night on lonely roads, drops out of school to make that one of their central activities of his life?

Do I stretch the point? Consider this: I said earlier that Jack Tyrer's act of generosity in getting that composition of mine published when I was in the tenth grade jolted me in a way I had seldom been jolted before. In fact, it is probably because he took the time to do that that I wound up eventually becoming a tenth-grade English teacher and starting a magazine.

Ask yourself this: how many students hate my subject now because of me?

I don't hate math and basketball because it was genetically predetermined that I should. . . .

3. It is a simple fact that most of the peak experiences I speak about take place not in the classroom behind a text, but in, or in association with, the world outside that classroom. The extent to which

we, as teachers, can meld the two together into one powerful learning force is the extent to which school, I believe, begins to make some sense.

Foxfire, at its most elementary level, worked in that tenth grade English class because the hard skills the students were learning were being learned not simply so they could pass a test or complete a text-related homework assignment, but because—through the vehicle of their own community—the applicability of those skills had suddenly become clear, and the skills came to life. They were useful. They had reason for being. Their use made sense. Community as *vehicle*. And as that imaginative, forceful description of Aunt Arie Carpenter living alone in her log house with no electricity, plumbing or TV (and surviving on $48 a month in social security payments) became important, so too did the ways that other writers had found to describe their own surroundings and their own communities become important. And as a concise, clean description of how Aunt Arie carried out a particular survival task became important, so too did the ways other writers delt with the same problem became worthy of a second look. And to the extent a student became the medium through which Aunt Arie could express, in her own words, her own insecurities and trials and victories and her own particular philosophy of life; such was the extent to which that same student became sensitive to and curious about the philosophical wrestling of others as expressed in texts, or in the neighborhood, or in the family—or even in plays by Shakespeare.

Linkages.

Community as vehicle. I can't say it any more clearly than that.

And in the act of using the community in that way, some wonderful things happen. One of them, of course, is that the student begins to understand who he is and where he's come from in terms of ancestry, past, heritage, roots. At the *very* least, he is exposed to a variety of lifestyles and philosophies he had probably not considered previously. And a sensitivity to his own roots and culture awakened, there is always the possibility that he can then be equally sensitive by extension to the culture and roots of other considerations.

But there's more. One of the ultimate absurdities of our high school system is that we expect our students to walk out the doors of our high schools at graduation, ready and able to take some kind of a responsible role inside either our own community or some other community of their choice, and yet we never, during their high school years, take the time to *show* them what a community is. They don't know what kinds of people make it up, what services it must have (and provide) to survive, where power lies and how it is attained and then either used or misused—and what to do about that. Their not knowing what jobs exist and how to apply for them and what they're like on a daily basis (most haven't even been to work with a parent for a day to see what his job is all about) is only the tip of the iceberg. Beyond that, they don't know enough about what the community *could be* to know, for example, what industries they themselves might *create* and run, much less how to do that. They often go out of our schools as ignorant of their surroundings (both ancestral and environmental and economic and architectural), the human condition, and the workings and the needs of the world as the day they entered them. And that is a fact. Not only do they not know what their options for action are, but they know so little about "community" that they couldn't possibly have any commitment to the idea, and so they couldn't care less about that action. You can't care deeply about something you're not personally acquainted with. Victims, they fit in wherever it's expedient for the powers that be *to fit them*.

That is our newest American tragedy, the most recent symbol of which is schools purposely so isolated from the community surrounding them that they don't even have windows.

4. On top of all this, we know for a fact that there are crucial needs that, universally, adolescents face. We tend to ignore these in our classrooms, but they are there nevertheless. And they are true no less in Appalachian schools than in any other schools in the world.

Most child psychologists agree that there are two distinct phases of adolescence, each with its own particular emotional demands:

In the first phase, called early adolescence, the most important single need the child has is a need for self-esteem; and this is satisfied most effectively by the praise, affection, attention—the sense of belonging—he receives from others. In an atmosphere—a classroom, for example—where this need is not addressed, and where the child (perhaps because of the possibility of failure) feels threatened, frustrated, cast out, powerless, *no learning will take place.* The attention and praise he needs will, more often than not in this situation, be sought from peers via antisocial behavior. In our vocabulary that's discipline problems.

It's a crazy cycle. Our mountain classrooms are filled with students who don't feel very secure about their academic abilities, and consequently don't feel any too good about themselves in our classrooms. They have been led to believe they can't read well, or write well, and we continue, through our ignorance (and through an endless series of assignments that are culturally inappropriate and hense seen as boring and irrelevant) to make these tasks so unpleasant for them, and to make them feel so uncomfortable that we often give them no choice but to reject us and the academic discipline we stand for. And so they fail, or get passed indifferently on up the line, having learned nothing from us but a series of evasive maneuvers; the cycle repeats itself, and they go elsewhere for their sense of accomplishment and self-esteem leaving us to wonder why they would rather deer hunt or play football or rebuild a '56 Chevrolet than read *Evangeline* or *A Tale of Two Cities,* or write a term paper about the Yangtzee River. Face it. At this stage in their lives they will put their hearts into only those things they feel they *can do,* and can get some sense of satisfaction and achievement out of the doing through the praise of others.

(Don't misunderstand me. I'm not saying that a term paper about the Yangtzee River shouldn't be done. I'm only saying that this may not be the best time for it. Perhaps first should come some intimate first-hand knowledge of a river in the student's community, researched fully in terms of its value *to* that community and the use to which it is put *by* that community. Then, as the student sees how that river affects *his* particular culture and what role a river plays in a society, *then* perhaps the teacher can move him with some hope of success one step further.)

This phase is outgrown as students zero in on things they are good at, and they move into a second phase called late adolescence where self-worth is defined not only in terms of how others respond to him, but also in terms of actual accomplishment—in the words of John J. Mitchell of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Alberta, Canada, "what he *does* and what he *represents.*"[1]

In this phase, it is essential that students be engaged in activities which they see as being important—as *making a difference* for, as Mitchell says, "All healthy humans, universally and without fail, abhor not making a difference. It is the closest thing to nonexistence man can experience."[2] If a student feels he is not making a difference, a number of things happen to him, not the least of which is his questioning whether or not he will be able to make a difference *at all* as an adult. Stalled, the student begins to lose self-confidence, and falls back into a pattern of conformism (needing the constant reassurance of others) at the expense of individually initiated and self-motivated action.

Mitchell is strong in his criticism of society in general here: "For the majority of youth, little opportunity exists to *do* things which generate feelings of self-importance. Little opportunity arises to build or construct useful products which contribute to the improvement of the environment; little opportunity emerges to assert oneself in a positive

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1. "The Nature of Adolescence: Some General Observations," a paper written for The National Commission on Resources for Youth, New York City; 1976. pg. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, page 16.

and wholesome manner because the areas of life in which youth actually make a difference are minimal."[3]

It was not always so in the Appalachians, but too often it is now. What can we do about it?

I have had teachers argue that in the schools it is almost impossible to create a situation where all students have a chance to *do* important work in the context of their classroom obligations. A student body president may, in an extraordinary school, have an outlet by which he can do work he perceives as making a difference, but few other students can have these outlets simply because they can't be provided in schools. They aren't set up that way.

True enough. Our schools often aren't set up that way. But they can be. At the very least, our classes can be. Granted, the task is made immeasurably more difficult if a student's past experiences in school during early adolescence have left him angry and frustrated and crippled—convinced already that he is hopeless in English or history or math. But it can still be done.

In fact, the precise reason why *Foxfire* worked as well as it did in English classes, above and beyond the fact that through the use of culturally appropriate activities and positive energy it proved to all the kids that they could read and write better than they had ever thought possible, was that they perceived the work they were doing as making a difference—as *being important*. The fruits of their labor were not simply busy-work exercises destined for a teacher's indifferent sigh and eventual destruction, but they were going to be *used*. And without the students (who had the community contacts and the automatic entree that I did not have) the work would not be done at all and the magazine would not exist. They *mattered*. And they still do.

These four truths are at the heart of the reason why *Foxfire* magazine worked in those language arts classes. The list of hard skills I was being paid by the State to teach (grammar, composition, composing a business letter, talking on the telephone, etc.) was being rigorously adhered to—albeit with the text used only as a reference manual in just the way that I believe it was originally intended to be used before it took over our lives; the basic competence already in most of the students was being taken advantage of and built upon; the students were being provided with far more peak experiences than the two or three I can point to as being vital in my five years of high school; the community was integrated fully into the life of the classroom both as a motivating force and as an aspect of life in itself worth serious attention; and the basic emotional needs of the adolescents were being addressed via classroom experiences leading to the production of an end product in which all could take justifiable pride. They owned the end product, ran the activities (read business) that produced it, and were essential to its growth and survival.

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[3] *Ibid.*, page 13.

Once the staff members and I had the language arts under control, we began to plot ways to infiltrate and influence other areas of the curriculum—the four truths always being held foremost— adding a community-based, experiential component to each. Our new Appalachian studies class, for example, became part of the social studies offering of the high school, the end product being additional articles for the magazine (focusing not only on folklore but also on pressing social problems) as well as a new understanding of history and its influences on this piece of the globe (a study of the Depression, for example, would *begin* with the first person testimony of mountain visitors to the class who would tell the kids what that period in their lives was like). Appalachian music, with its end product of record albums produced, edited, designed and marketed by kids, became a part of our high school's arts offering (as did a new creative photography course that resulted in regular student exhibitions in the halls of the school building and the cafeteria). Environmental education, with its end products being a continually revised, mimeographed field manual written by kids as well as written studies which looked objectively at both sides of environmental problems such as clearcutting, and environmental controversies such as seed gardens, experiments with American chestnut trees and planting by the signs, and nature trails, was integrated into biology. Furniture making, with the potential of creating a new industry in the County, dovetailed into industrial arts. Complex diagrams required to explain the workings of various material artifacts such as banjos and hog rifles found a home in the drafting classes. The television shows our kids began to script and produce for the local cable TV network earned for them credit in the media sciences. Our bookkeeping division gave students in the accounting classes genuine experience. Our course in creating businesses tied into both economics and career ed. And all of these additions, rather than taking place of the existing curriculum, simply became adjuncts to it—activities that brought these areas of the curriculum to life and engaged the energies and the capacities of the kids in ways they had seldom been engaged before. Education became, and is still becoming, real. Future targets for the insertion of culturally relevant—and thereby motivating—activities include physical education, home economics, chemistry and physics.

That sound like a lot—perhaps too much. But I think we can do it. Remember that this whole project was started—quietly and without rocking boats—in ninth and tenth-grade English classes eleven years ago with $440 in donations. You've got to start somewhere.

In *The Watches of the Night*, Harry Caudill, with a good deal of justification, blasts Appalachian schools. On page 226, he says,

> . . . it is apparent that improved physical plant and increased pay do not automatically equate with more learning. After twelve years in the classroom—two thousand, three hundred and twenty days of teaching—mountain youths are unlikely to know from memory a single paragraph of Shakespeare, to have memorized even a couple of poems, or to be able to solve such simple problems as will determine, for example, the quantity of water within a tank of specified size. Furthermore, they are rarely able to punctuate or spell with accuracy or display more than rudimentary knowledge of the history of their county, state or nation. Such remote places as China are unknown. The philosophers and their teachings are as off limits as Shakespeare and Gibbon. Almost none knows anything about the botany of the age-old forest that now cloaks the region as second or third-growth timber. Most tragic of all, few leave the schools with the habit of reading or reflection, a lack of promises few innovations in confronting and solving the jarring problems that are bearing down on the Cumberland Plateau with the velocity and finality of an avalanche.

I agree with most of that. I also know, for a fact, that something can be done about it. You and I as Appalachian teachers will probably never be able to make even our own solitary schools all that Harry Caudill would like them to be, but each of us, in his own way and on his own chunk of turf, can roll up his sleeves and pitch in and give it a hell of a go. To do less than that is inexcusable, for if the future of our mountains does not get taken up by the hands of those we sensitize and equip for the long fight ahead, then into whose hand does it fall?

NOTE

For teachers interested in implementing Foxfire-type projects in their schools, the following books are recommended:

Moments, The Foxfire Experience, by Eliot Wigginton
You and Aunt Arie, A Guide to Cultural Journalism, by Pam Wood

The first is a guide for teachers and the second is a handbook for kids. Both are available from:

IDEAS
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

31 NOTEZ FROM SKULE

BOB TERRELL

Bob Terrell is a native of Sylva, North Carolina, and has been on the staff of the ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES for twenty-eight years, where he now serves as Associate Editor.

There are times when I think we're sending the wrong people to school. Some of the present-day kids don't need the education nearly as much as their parents.

Cuz Bagley of Murphy, one of the sages of the hills, would agree.

Most schools operate under the absence-excuse system in which students, in order to be excused for missing a day in school, must bring a note from a parent explaining the reason for the absence.

Somewhere, Cuz Bagley came up with a collection of excuses that underscore the need for a little higher education for parents:

—Dear School: Pleas ackuse John for been absent January 28, 29, 30, 32 & 33.

—Chris have an acre in his side.

—Mary could not come to school because she was bothered by very close veins.

—John has been absent because he has two teeth taken out his face.

—I kape Billie home because she had to Christmas shopping because I didn't know what size she wear.

—My son is under the doctor's care and should not take P. E. Please execute him.

—Lillie was absent from school yesterday as she had a going over.

—Please excuse Joey Monday. He had loose vowels.

—Please excuse Blanch from P. E. for a few days. Yesterday she fell out of a tree and misplaced her hip.

—Carlose was absent yesterday because he was playing football. He was hurt in the growing part.

—My daughter was absent yesterday because she was tired. She spent the weekend with the Marines.

—Please excuse Jimmy from being. It was his father's fault.

—Mary was absent Dec. 11-15, because she had a fever, sore throat headache, and upset stomack. Her sister was also sick, fever, and sore throat. Her brother has a low grade temp and

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ached all over. I wasn't feeling the best either, sore throat and fever. There must be the flu going around. Her father even got hot last night.

Cuz's best school story, however, is about an experience of Mrs. Annie Lou Kennum Rogers in the classroom.

Mrs. Rogers once had a young student who, according to Cuz, "was a complete stranger to soap and water." She said the little fellow came to school day after day without a bath, and the way she could tell from a distance was that a particular patch of dirt on his arm kept growing for as long as two weeks.

Up close, she didn't even have to look for the patch of dirt. "He was surrounded," Cuz said, "by a mighty fierce odor."

When his situation became so bad that the other kids avoided him. Mrs. Rogers decided to write a note to his mother.

"Dear Mrs. Blank," she wrote. "Please have Johnny take a bath. The other children are avoiding him because he is so dirty and I find that he just smells bad."

Mrs. Rogers signed the note, gave it to Johnny, and he took it home to mother.

Next morning, Johnny brought a written reply from his mother.

"Dear Teacher," she wrote. 'Ima sending Johnny to school for you to learn him, not SMELL him."

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON SOUTHERN APPALACHIA FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

This bibliography contains the books, periodicals, and films this author considers to be the best and most representative of the works on Southern Appalachia currently available for purchase. It was put together with the interests of the public school teacher and student in mind and would form the core of an Appalachian studies collection in a school library.

EARLY REGIONAL HISTORIES OF NORTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, AND VIRGINIA

Dixon, Max. *The Wataugans*. Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1976.

Blackmun, Ora. *Western North Carolina: Its Mountains and Its People to 1880*. Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1977.

Caldwell, Mary French. *Tennessee: The Dangerous Example, Watauga to 1849*. Nashville: Aurora Publishers, 1974.

Summers, Lewis Preston. *History of Southwest Virginia and Washington County*. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971.

> The histories of the Appalachian areas of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have generally been minimized in works dealing with the whole state. These volumes present in great detail the early history of these counties.

GENERAL STATE HISTORIES OF NORTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, AND VIRGINIA

Lefler, Hugh Talmage, and Albert Ray Newsome. *The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, Third Edition*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Folmsbee, Stanley, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell. *Tennessee: A Short History*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969.

Dabney, Virginius. *Virginia. The New Dominion*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1971.

> These are the best of the general state histories for public school libraries.

GENERAL ESSAYS: WRITTEN AND PHOTOGRAPHIC

Carawan, Guy and Candie. *Voices from the Mountains*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975.

> Photographs, songs, and feelings collected and recorded by the authors. Focuses primarily on the coal-producing areas.

Cate, Herma, et al. *The Southern Appalachian Heritage*. Kingsport, Tennessee: Holston Publishing Corporation, 1974.

Photographs and writings emphasizing the environment and folk descriptors of the past.

Clark, Joe. *Tennessee Hill Folk*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972.

A classic collection of Appalachian photographs taken a generation or more ago by a first-rate photographer.

Dykeman, Wilma and James Stokley. *The Border States*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1970.

A volume in the Time-Life Library of America. It is a descriptive treatment of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia by two of the region's foremost writers.

National Geographic Society. *American Mountain People*. Washington: The National Geographical Society, 1973.

A photographic and descriptive work on people inhabiting the mountains of the United States. A major portion is devoted to the people of Appalachia.

Roberts, Bruce and Nancy. *Where Time Stood Still*. New York: Crowell-Colliers Press, 1970.

A written and photographic portrait of Appalachia with many selections dealing with Western North Carolina.

Ulmann, Doris. *The Appalachian Photographs of Doris Ulmann*. Penland, North Carolina: The Jargon Society, 1971.

Classic photographs of Appalachian people taken during the early part of the century by a masterful photographer.

West, John Foster, and Bruce Roberts. *This Proud Land*. Charlotte, North Carolina: McNally and Loften, Publishers, 1974.

Photographs and prose of the land and people of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

LANGUAGE

Fink, Paul. *Bits of Mountain Speech*. Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1974.

A "dictionary" of mountain speech collected by the author between 1910 and 1965.

Hall, Joseph S. *Sayings from Old Smoky*. Asheville, North Carolina: The Cataloochee Press, 1972.

An annotated collection of proverbial sayings and expressions of the mountains.

FOLKCRAFT

Gaynes, David. *Artisans/Appalachia/U.S.A.* Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1977.

An "exhibition" of the works of fifty Appalachian artisans along with short commentary. Each of the fifty is printed on individual cards assembled in a loose-leaf packet.

Hall, Joseph S. *Smoky Mountain Folks and Their Lore.* Asheville, North Carolina: The Cataloochee Press, 1960.

A descriptive collection of mountain folklore and stories.

MUSIC

Artis, Bob. *Bluegrass.* New York: Hawthorne Books, 1975.

The best single source on the history of individual mountain bluegrass artists and their rise to fame.

Burton, Thomas G., and Ambrose N. Manning, eds. *Folklore:* Folksongs. Johnson City, Tennessee: The Research and Advisory Council of East Tennessee State University, 1967.

————. *Folksongs II.* Johnson City, Tennessee: The Research and Advisory Council of East Tennessee State University, 1969.

These two extensive collections of folksongs draw their material almost exclusively from the mountain people of Western North Carolina, Upper East Tennessee, and Southwest Virginia.

Jackson, George Pullen. *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands.* New York: Dover Publications, 1965.

The only available intensive study of the development and structure of the white religious music of the Appalachian Mountains and other areas of the South.

RELIGION

Bailey, Kenneth. *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century.* Glouster, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1968.

An objective treatment of the development of fundamentalism in the South (and Appalachian area) since the turn of the century.

Boles, John B. *The Great Revival, 1787–1805.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972.

An historical account of the rise of revivalism in early Appalachia which formed new denominations and cultivated a lasting Protestant orthodoxy and fervor.

Dickinson, Eleanor, and Barbara Benziger. *Revival.* New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

A pictorial and descriptive account of revivalism focusing to a great degree on Appalachia.

Pelton, Robert, and Karen W. Carden. *Snake Handlers, God Fearers? or Fanatics?.* Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1974.

An objective, yet understanding, portrayal of a much publicized bizarre religious practice.

MOUNTAIN WILDERNESS

Dolittle, Jerome. *The Southern Appalachians*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1975.

Ogburn, Charlton. *The Southern Appalachians*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1975.

Porter, Eliot, *Appalachian Wilderness, The Great Smoky Mountains*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1973.

> Excellent sources portraying the beauty of the mountains, its flora, fauna, and the natural setting.

GENERAL STUDIES AND ANTHOLOGIES

Axelrod, Jim, ed. *Growin' Up Country*. Clintwood, Virginia: Resource and Information Center, Council of the Southern Mountains, 1973.

> A collection of articles, stories, poems, and pictures reflecting growing up in Appalachia during the past twenty years.

Campbell, John C. *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1969.

> A reprint of the 1921 study of Appalachia which was the first in-depth examination of the region.

Caudill, Harry M. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

> A controversial "biography of a depressed area," Eastern Kentucky, by a native attorney well acquainted with the area.

Coles, Robert. *Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers, Volume II of Children of Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

> The Harvard child psychiatrist's view of the rural poor. The third portion of the book deals with Appalachian poor.

Ergood, Bruce, and Bruce E. Kuhre, eds. *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976.

> An anthology of articles on Appalachia spanning the breadth of interests in the region.

Fetterman, John. *Stinking Creek*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1970.

> A portrait in prose and pictures of a small mountain community in Appalachian Kentucky.

Ford, Thomas R., ed. *The Southern Appalachian Region*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1962.

> The first anthology of writings on the Appalachian region. The material is dated but contains many early observations not found in other sources.

Hansen, James C., and Richard R. Stevic. *Appalachian Students and Guidance*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1971.

> A guidance monograph designed to assist counselors in creating the kind of guidance program meeting the needs of Appalachian children.

Higgs, Robert J., and Ambrose N. Manning, eds. *Voices from the Hills.* New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1975.

The only anthology devoted completely to the literary writings of Appalachian authors.

Iannone, Ron. *School Ain't No Way. . . .* Parson, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company, Inc., 1973.

The experiences of a teacher attempting to bring about change in the mountain school in which he is teaching.

Kahn, Kathy. *Hillbilly Women.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973.

The only book focusing on the views of mountain women and their struggle to better their conditions.

Kephart, Horace. *Our Southern Highlanders.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976.

A classic account of a librarian-author's life during several years' residence among the mountain people of extreme Western North Carolina. Originally published in 1913 and revised in 1922.

Looff, David. *Appalachia's Children: The Challenge of Mental Health.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

Psychiatrist Looff examines the problems of mental health among Appalachian children and prescribes corrective possibilities.

Matthews, Elmora. *Neighbor and Kin.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965.

A sociological analysis of the family in a small rural Tennessee community.

Maurer, B. B., ed. *Mountain Heritage.* Ripley, West Virginia: Mountain State Art and Craft Fair, 1974.

The heritage of culture, language, music, and religion in Appalachia by several West Virginia authors.

Miles, Emma Bell. *The Spirit of the Mountains.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

An early portrayal of mountain life first published in 1905.

Montell, William Lynwood. *The Saga of Coe Ridge.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1970.

The oral account of a tiny Negro community nestled away in Appalachia. The only extensive study of the mountain Negro.

Murray, Kenneth. *Down to Earth: The People of Appalachia.* Boone, North Carolina: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1974.

Portraits in pictures and commentary of the people living in East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, and Western North Carolina.

Riddel, Frank S., ed. *Appalachia: Its People, Heritage, and Problems.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1974.

A broad anthology of articles depicting the Appalachian region.

Shackelford, Laurel, and Bill Weinberg. *Our Appalachia.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

A remarkable collection of oral history interviews of mountain people.

Surface, Bill. *The Hollow.* New York: Coward McCall, 1971.

An account of a family living in the hills of Appalachia and the harsh reality of their existence.

Stuart, Jesse. *The Thread That Runs So True.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.

————. *To Teach, To Love.* New York: World Publishing Co., 1970.

Two reminiscences by the prominent Appalachian author of teaching in mountain schools.

Walls, David, and John B. Stephenson, eds. *Appalachia in the Sixties.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972.

A broad anthology of writings on the Appalachian region.

Warren, Harold. . . . *A Right Good People.* Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1974.

A collection of writings and photographs on a number of mountain topics.

Weller, Jack. *Yesterday's People.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1965.

A controversial book depicting life in contemporary Appalachia as viewed by the author.

Wigginton, Eliot, ed. *The Foxfire Book.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1972.

The first of the collections (currently there are four) of the best of *Foxfire* quarterly. The articles are of folklore in Southern Appalachia and have been written by high school students. See also the *Foxfire* bibliographic reference on page 221 and *Foxfire* subscription information on page 230.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Appalachian Bibliography. Morgantown, West Virginia: West Virginia University Library, 1972.

A "forerunner" bibliography of less expense than the two listed below.

Ross, Charlotte, ed. *Bibliography of Southern Appalachia.* Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1976.

The most thorough bibliographical study of Appalachia ever produced. This work attempts to pull together a complete treatment of the region.

Smith, Sam B. *Tennessee History: A Bibliography.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974.

A work of relatively complete Tennessee historical sources. This book is the only historical bibliography published by any of the three states.

APPALACHIAN PERIODICALS

This list contains the more prominent periodicals devoted exclusively to the Appalachian region. The subscription prices quoted are those in effect in mid-1977. Back issues from each of these are generally available for purchase.

Appalachia: Journal of the Appalachian Regional Commission (1967)
Appalachian Regional Commission
1666 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20235
Bimonthly—free to residents of the region

Appalachian Heritage (1973)
Alice Lloyd College
Pippa Passes, Kentucky 41844
Quarterly—$7.50 per year

Appalachian Journal (1972)
Appalachian State University
Boone, North Carolina 28608
Quarterly—$6.50 per year

Foxfire (1967)
Rabun Gap, Georgia 30568
Quarterly—$8.00 per year

M.A.W.: A Magazine of Appalachian Women (1977)
Appalachian Women, Inc.
745 7th Street
Huntington, West Virginia 25701
Bimonthly—$5.00 per year

The Mountain Call (1974)
Box 611
Kermit, West Virginia 25674
Monthly—$5.00 per year

Mountain Life and Work (1921)
Council of the Southern Mountains
Drawer N.
Clintwood, Virginia 24228
Monthly—$5.00 per year

Mountain Review (1975)
P.O. Box 660
Whitesburg, Kentucky 41858
Quarterly—$5.00 per year

The Plow (1975)
Appalachian Information
279 East Main Street
Abingdon, Virginia 24210
Monthly—$4.00 per year

Southern Exposure (1973)
P.O. Box 230
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Quarterly—$8.00 per year

APPALACHIAN FILMS

There are more than one hundred, sixteen-millimeter films of Appalachia currently available for purchase or rent. This list contains twenty titles spanning the breadth of interest in the region along with the names and addresses of the publishers or distributors. Catalogues are available on request from the distributors and most Appalachian collections in large libraries have extensive film bibliographies.

Appalachia: Rich Land, Poor People 1969 B&W 59 minutes Indiana University A-V Center
Discusses the poverty and other problems of Appalachia.

Appalachian Genesis 1970 Color 30 minutes Appalshop Films
Youth of Appalachia discussing the problems of coal mining, education, community health, recreation, employment opportunities, and political corruption.

Appalachian Heritage 1968 Color 51 minutes Embassy Picture Corporation
Documents the severe economic and social depression of Appalachia and shows the hardships of people being forced to leave their homes for the industrialized cities.

Beyond These Hills 1967 Color 13 minutes Office of Economic Opportunity
A government documentary on the economic poverty and cultural life in Avery County, North Carolina.

Buffalo Creek 1972: An Act of God? 1975 B&W 30 minutes Appalshop Films
Documents the destruction, clean-up, and aftermath of the bursting dam tragedy in Logan County, West Virginia, in 1972.

Christmas in Appalachia 1965 B&W 29 minutes Carousel Films
A CBS documentary showing the meager expectations of holiday joy in an Appalachian community as Christmas comes.

The Feathered Warrior 1973 Color 20 minutes Appalshop Films
Portrays the illegal sport of cockfighting.

Five Days in Moorfield 1972 Color 29 minutes Reader's Digest Foundation
Documents the struggle of a small town in the early 70's trying to preserve its traditional values against the threat of urbanization and its accompanying pluralism.

Fixin' to Tell About Jack 1974 Color 25 minutes Appalshop Films
The art of the "Jack Tale" is mastered and portrayed by Avery County North Carolina's, Ray Hicks.

Foxfire 1973 Color 21 minutes McGraw-Hill Films
Depicts the work of teacher Eliot Wigginton and his students as they write and produce the folk studies periodical *Foxfire*.

In the Good Old Fashioned Way 1973 Color 30 minutes Appalshop Films
Portrays the Old Regular Baptist Church in the mountains of Kentucky. It objectively presents the denomination's practices, beliefs, and the church's influence in the lives of its members.

The Kingdom Come School 1973 Color 20 minutes Appalshop Films
A day in the lives of a one-room schoolteacher and his twenty-two students presented. A case for the preservation of this rapidly disappearing educational institution.

Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Coal 1973 Color 52 minutes Xerox Films
The depiction of the economic and political power of the coal industry in the state of West Virginia.

Linda and Billy Ray from Appalachia 1970 Color 15 minutes Encyclopedia Britannica Films
Pictures the difficulties encountered when an Appalachian family moves to Cincinnati to seek better economic opportunities.

Morgan Sorghum 1974 Color 12 minutes Appalshop Films
Covers three craftsmen featured at the Morgan County, Kentucky, Sorghum Festival; a knifemaker, a broommaker, and a woman who spins her own yarn on an old spinning wheel.

Nature's Way 1974 Color 20 minutes
Portrays mountain people caring for their own ailments. Featured are makers of herb remedies, a medicine man "hawking" his wares, and a midwife delivering twins in a mountain home.

The Ramsey Trade Fair 1974 Color 20 minutes Appalshop Films
Presents the forerunner of the flea market; the mountain trading fair in Ramsey, Virginia.

The Struggle of Coon Branch Mountain 1972 B&W 13 minutes Appalshop Films

The documentary of a mountain community trying to better its children's educational opportunities by fighting for better roads against an unweilding bureaucratic political structure.

Tomorrow's People 1973 Color 25 minutes Appalshop Films

A sound experience of music without narration depicting a visual montage of mountain scenes.

Tradition 1974 Color 20 minutes Appalshop Films

Portrays the art of moonshining through the eyes of a four times convicted moonshiner and an I.R.S. agent.

FILM DISTRIBUTORS

Appalshop Films
P.O. Box 332
Whitesburg, Kentucky 41858

Carousel Films
1501 Broadway
New York, New York 10036

Embassy Pictures Corporation
8831 Sunset
Los Angeles, California 90069

Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

McGraw-Hill Films
330 W. 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Office of Economic Opportunity
Public Affairs Department
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Reader's Digest Foundation
Pleasantville, New York 10570

Xerox Films
1200 High Ridge Road
Stamford, Connecticut 06905

Teaching Mountain Children prepares the beginning teacher in Appalachia for an introduction to her students, their parents, the community in which they live and work, the cultural traditions that shape and sustain them as an ethnic minority identified with a geographical region, and the social and economic problems with which they must deal.

The teacher from outside the region who studies this book will experience a revelation as biases fade and misconceptions are corrected.

The native teacher who returns to the mountains will gain new insights and, like the goldfish that did not know what water is until he had leapt from the bowl, appreciate more fully the significance of Appalachian culture, the uniqueness of those who are shaped basically by it, and the pervasiveness of the economic problems that plague the region.

Both the outsider and the native who aspire to teach in Appalachia will be better prepared to meet students on their own ground after studying *Teaching Mountain Children*.

Cratis Williams

Teaching Mountain Children is terrific!

Peter Schrag
Former Education Editor
Saturday Review

If the future of our mountains does not get taken up by the hands of those we sensitize and equip for the long fight ahead, then into whose hands does it fall? Students *can do* and must be allowed to do—far more than has been traditionally expected of them in our schools.

Eliot Wigginton
Editor
Foxfire Books

Teaching Mountain Children will be of great value.

Herbert W. Wey
Chancellor
Appalachian State University

There is no doubt that teaching in southern and central Appalachia presents some distinctive and even unique problems. This is particularly true in rural areas and in the old coal towns. There is a distinctive sub-culture and it is frequently practically impossible for mountain students to comprehend or find interest in works aimed at children from mainstream suburban culture. If students read *Teaching Mountain Children* they will come to understand who they are and the land on which they live. Without this understanding they are certain to face continuing obstacles in their school work, including their college studies. I hope this book will be widely used throughout Appalachia.

Harry M. Caudill
Author
Night Comes to the Cumberlands

David N. Mielke has spent twenty-five years in the schools of Appalachia as both student and teacher. He attended Meadowview School in Meadowview, Virginia, and received his high school diploma from the E.T.S.C. Training School in Johnson City, Tennessee. He was graduated from East Tennessee State University with a B.S. degree and earned an M.S. and Ed.D. from the University of Tennessee. He taught science and social studies in junior high school in East Tennessee before coming to Appalachian State University where he is currently Associate Professor of Secondary Education and Political Science.

APPALACHIAN CONSORTIUM PRESS
BOONE, NC 28608